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Sociology and Social Research

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL

PUBLISHED BIMONTHLY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

3551 UNIVERSITY AVENUE, LOS ANGELES 7, CALIFORNIA

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, \$3.50

SINGLE COPIES, 70¢

Entered as second-class matter March 31, 1936, at the post office at Los Angeles, California, under the act of March 3, 1879.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA PRESS

3551 UNIVERSITY AVENUE

LOS ANGELES 7, CALIFORNIA

SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

November-December, 1947

SOCIOLOGY IN BRAZIL A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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● The purpose of this paper is to show some of the differences and similarities between two publications in the field of sociology: the *Sociologia-Revista* in Brazil and the *American Journal of Sociology* in the United States.* In each country these publications have exercised considerable influence in the development of sociology, in pioneering methods of scientific investigation, and in reflecting the best of sociological thinking. The *American Journal* is the oldest publication of its kind in this country, having been issued for more than fifty years; the *Revista* is the only specialized review in this field in Brazil. Its life has not been long; the first number appeared seven years ago, in 1940.

It is my idea that a comparative study of these two leading publications will give an approximate idea of sociology and sociologists in both countries. However, I do not intend to generalize on the whole background of sociology in Brazil or in the United States. Nor is it my purpose to claim for the Brazilian sociologists or for the *Revista* the same status or qualifications that have been acquired by the *Journal* and by American sociology. In this paper I shall limit myself to an analysis of the *Revista's* and the *Journal's* articles through a period of five years, from 1941 to 1945.

From the reading of the *Revista* and the *Journal* one may raise these questions: What are the main areas of interest of Brazilian and American sociologists? Have they particular problems that they emphasize in connection with some urgent questions in their own country? What is the nature of the participation of foreign sociologists in both magazines? Are these periodicals chiefly methodological and theoretical or do they give greater emphasis to field researches? How far do they regard sociology from a scientific approach? Some of these questions I shall try to answer.

* A paper presented before the Ohio Valley Sociological Society, April, 1947.

The main difficulty I found in undertaking this research and in answering these questions was with the classification scheme to be used as a frame of reference. In fact, a scheme for this approach must not be too specific. The tenfold classification I chose for this purpose was composed of more or less broad categories in order to be able to include the articles of the *Revista* and the *Journal* in the same framework. Thus these papers were classified with reference to six main institutions—family, economics, politics, education, religion, and recreation—and also in more exclusive categories, such as population, race, theory and history, and methods. Tables 1 and 2 show a comprehensive picture of the various sociological interests during this five-year period.

For instance, more than one fifth of all papers appearing in the *Journal* deal with politics. This high proportion reflected particularly the international situation brought about by the war in Europe and in Asia. In fact, most of these articles dealt with war and peace, democracy and totalitarianism. As for the *Revista*, 23.1 per cent of its papers were in this field, particularly on government, law, and war. Evidently the impact of war on the *Journal* was higher than on the *Revista*. To be more specific, the figures show that 13.3 per cent of

TABLE 1
CLASSIFICATION OF THE PAPERS IN *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL*
OF SOCIOLOGY, 1940-1945, VOLUMES XLVI-L

TOPICS	YEAR											
	TOTAL ARTICLES		1940-41		1941-42		1942-43		1943-44		1944-45	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Family, sex, and marriage	36	13.7	7	15.6	8	13.5	6	10.3	11	22.0	4	7.8
Theory and history	49	18.6	11	24.5	6	10.2	11	19.0	10	20.0	11	21.6
Economics	15	5.7	5	11.1	4	6.8	2	3.5	3	6.0	1	2.0
Politics	55	20.9	10	22.2	19	32.2	8	13.8	12	24.0	6	11.8
Population	26	9.9	5	11.1	6	10.2	6	10.3	3	6.0	6	11.8
Race	14	5.3	2	4.4	3	5.1	2	3.4	3	6.0	4	7.8
Education	26	9.9			5	8.4	15	25.9	2	4.0	4	7.8
Religion	16	6.1			3	5.1	3	5.2	5	10.0	5	9.8
Recreation	3	1.1	1	2.2	2	3.4						
Methods	23	8.8	4	8.9	3	5.1	5	8.6	1	2.0	10	19.6
Total	263	100.	45	100.	59	100.	58	100.	50	100.	51	100.

the space of the former and only 4.9 per cent of the latter were concerned with the nature, origin, and consequences of the international conflict. One may explain this by assuming that the United States during this period was more deeply engaged in the war effort than Brazil. This is undoubtedly true and reflects also the *Journal's* policy since the days of Albion W. Small, who in its first issue in 1895 pointed out that the *Journal* would attempt to translate sociology into the language of ordinary life so that it would not appear to be merely a classification and explanation of fossilized facts.¹

Another emphasis was on the theoretical and historical field of sociology. It was found that 13.2 per cent of the *Revista's* and 18.6 per cent of the *Journal's* papers were devoted to different kinds of sociological concepts and theories. This similarity of interests and concerns seems to be a good sign, because it indicates that one of the present-day emphases of sociologists everywhere is to build up a sociology on a new scientific and methodical approach, as a natural science. I think that this vigorous interest in sociological theory and method is bound to see, in the *Revista*, a greater expansion in the future, in so far as

TABLE 2

CLASSIFICATION OF THE PAPERS IN THE *SOCIOLOGIA-REVISTA DIDATICA E SCIENTIFICA*, 1941-1945, VOLUMES III-VII

TOPICS	TOTAL ARTICLES		YEAR									
			1941		1942		1943		1944		1945	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Family, sex, and marriage	11	9.1	3	8.8	3	11.5	3	12.5	2	8.0		
Theory and history	16	13.2	6	17.7	4	15.4			6	24.0		
Economics	11	9.0	2	5.9	2	7.7	3	12.5	2	8.0	2	16.7
Politics	28	23.1	9	26.5	7	26.9	6	25.0	4	16.0	2	16.7
Population	16	13.2	3	8.8	3	11.5	6	25.0	1	4.0	3	25.0
Race	7	5.8	4	11.8	1	3.9					2	16.6
Education	12	10.0	3	8.8	3	11.5	2	8.3	4	16.0		
Religion	12	10.0	1	2.9	2	7.7	3	12.5	3	12.0	3	25.0
Recreation	3	2.5	1	2.9	1	3.9			1	4.0		
Methods	5	4.1	2	5.9			1	4.2	2	8.0		
Total	121	100.	34	100.	26	100.	24	100.	25	100.	12	100.

¹ *American Journal of Sociology*, 1:14, July, 1895.

the influence of American sociologists upon the *Revista* becomes greater and greater.

The next high concentration of the *Journal's* articles was upon the problems of family, sex, and marriage, which were grouped together. The space given to this category reached the figure of 13.7 per cent for the *Journal* and 9.1 per cent for the *Revista*. The latter figure does not represent exactly the contents of the articles, for they deal extensively with the family organization of the Brazilian Indians from an ethnological point of view. In another scheme of reference, as Table 3 shows, worked out exclusively to reflect specifically the contents of the *Revista's* papers, this figure dropped to 5 per cent. This difference might well be understood by, and reflect, the diversity in the social backgrounds of the two countries.

Problems like marital adjustment, sex education, decreasing birth rate, birth control, growth of divorce, influence of urbanization and industrialization upon the American family were the main concerns in the *Journal's* researches. The heavy concentration on this subject reflects, I think, the concern which is felt in this country over the problems of social and family disorganization brought about by the increasing urbanization and mechanization of the whole process of production since the industrial revolution.

On the other hand, the apparent absence of interest in this topic in the *Revista's* papers probably is due to the fact that the Brazilian family is still organized, to some extent, in the old patterns of a sacred society, semipatriarchal, under the dominance of the Church, preserving its function as one of the chief agencies of social control. Hence, the insignificant attention paid by the *Revista* in particular, and by the Brazilian sociologists in general, to the aspects of social disorganization, in contrast to the amount of interest given it by the *Journal's* articles.

The articles in the field of population constitute 13.2 per cent of the *Revista's* papers and are one of its main concentrations; the *Journal's* figure shows 9.9 per cent dealing with this topic. Brazilian sociologists were more concerned with immigration, assimilation, and miscegenation of our population; the Americans stressed urbanization, spatial mobility, and the fertility trends of the American population.

As far as the racial question and the Negro problem are concerned, both the *Revista* and the *Journal's* figures are disappointing. The former has a figure of 5.5 per cent and the latter one of 5.3 per cent. A distinction in the nature of the papers might be made initially: The *Revista's* articles deal more with racial contacts and the effects of the

miscegenation, whereas the *Journal* emphasizes racial conflict and discrimination. The absence of anti-Negro discrimination in Brazil may be the answer to the peculiar aspect of such research appearing in the *Revista*.

Considering the significance of the racial problems in both countries it is to be expected that there would be greater space devoted to this subject. I have to limit this assumption, as far as the *Revista* and the *Journal* are concerned, because outside of these publications the Negro bibliography is considerable in both countries.

In the field of education, the two show almost the same amount of interest, for the figures are 9.9 per cent in the *Journal* and 10 per cent in the *Revista*. In the other categories of our classification there is a decreasing interest given to economics, religion, and recreational institutions. This last is represented by the insignificant figure of 2.5 per cent in the *Revista* and 1.1 per cent in the *Journal*.

As I have pointed out before, the classification scheme adopted here was made up of broad categories designed to include the contents of both publications in order to make possible a comparative study by

TABLE 3
ANOTHER CLASSIFICATION OF THE *REVISTA*'S ARTICLES DESIGNED
TO REFLECT THE SPECIFIC CONTENT OF THE PAPERS

TOPICS	TOTAL ARTICLES	YEAR						
		No.	%	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945
Ethnography	44	36.4	7	10	10	12	5	
Theory and history	20	16.5	8	5	3	4		
Population	15	12.4	3	2	6	2	2	
Methods of research	5	4.1	2		1	2		
Negroes	6	4.9	3	1				2
Jews	1	0.8						1
Family	6	5.0	2	2	2			
Teaching of sociology	5	4.1	2	2		1		
War	6	5.0	6					
Economics	7	5.8	1	2	1	1	2	
Education	6	5.0		2	1	3		
Total	121	100.	34	26	24	25	12	

reducing them to specific figures. Hence, sometimes only a rough picture was outlined. For this reason I have tried to reclassify the *Revista's* articles under a new approach, without any purpose of comparison, in order to show as adequately as possible the peculiarity found in the *Revista's* articles.

Under this classification I had to open a new category along the line of ethnography to emphasize the surveys about the Brazilian Indians, which occupy more than one third of the total space of the *Revista*. Some of these papers were classified previously in various categories such as politics, family, economics, or religion. A different picture of the *Revista* was found then, but many of the figures and percentages in the chief categories such as population, theory and history, and methods remained almost unchanged.

It is a matter of fact that a publication, to some extent, reflects a great deal about its editors. One may verify this by analyzing the background of the editors of the *Revista*. Mr. Willems' main interest is in ethnology, and therefore the reason for so much attention and space being devoted to this field, i.e., more than 36 per cent of the total space, is self-explanatory.

I attempted also to classify the *Revista's* articles according to the origin and background of their authors. This approach gives a very cosmopolitan picture of the *Revista* in contrast with that of the *Journal*. The *Revista's* figures show in Table 4 that American sociologists are represented by almost one fourth of the total articles, Germans by one fifth, French by 2.4 per cent, English by 1.6 per cent, and Latin-American authors by 4.1 per cent. Brazilian sociologists are represented by only 47.1 per cent.

As for the *Journal*, Ethel Shanas found an unimpressive percentage of only 0.4 per cent of the total papers reporting upon sociology in foreign countries.² The contrast in these figures does not indicate, however, that the *Journal* is developing a kind of provincialism, which to some extent might be true, but denotes rather the large development of sociology in the United States and a plethora of researches and surveys by American sociologists looking for publication. On the other hand, the heavy participation of foreign sociologists in the *Revista* indicates more than anything else a shortcoming and also the fact that sociology in Brazil is a very recent academic discipline.

² "The American Journal of Sociology through Fifty Years," *American Journal of Sociology*, 50: 526, May, 1945.

TABLE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF THE *REVISTA*'S PAPERS ACCORDING TO THE
ORIGIN AND BACKGROUND OF THEIR AUTHORS

		U.S.		Germany		France		England		Latin Am. Countries		Brazil	
YEAR	TOTAL ARTICLES	No. %		No. %		No. %		No. %		No. %		No. %	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1941	34	6	17.6	8	23.5			1	2.9	4	11.7	15	44.1
1942	26	7	26.9	5	19.2	1	3.8	1	3.8	1	3.8	11	42.3
1943	24	6	25.0	6	25.0							12	50.0
1944	25	7	28.0	5	20.0	1	4.0					12	48.0
1945	12	2	16.6	2	16.6	1	3.8					7	58.3
Total	121	28	23.1	26	21.5	3	2.4	2	1.6	5	4.1	57	47.1

I tried to find out another interesting aspect of the *Revista* by analyzing the considerable influence of foreign sociologists through the quotations and references made in the footnotes by the authors of the articles. The figure obtained shows that in 192 footnotes in 4 different issues of the *Revista*, 63 quotations, or 32.8 per cent, were from American sociologists; 46, or 24 per cent, from German; 24, or 12.5 per cent, from French; 25, or 13 per cent, from Latin American; and 34, or 17.7 per cent, from Brazilian.

The heavy proportion of quotations from North American scholars is due to the fact that the English language now is very popular in Brazil and also to the increasing interest in books from the United States.

Despite the small representation of articles by French sociologists in the *Revista*—only 2.4 per cent—the references in the footnotes to French books reach the high percentage of 13 per cent. This seems to me a sign that the traditional influence of French culture, which dominated Brazilian writers for a long time, is still going on, although to a lesser degree.

The second place occupied by the quotations from German books, represented by the figure of 24 per cent, looks strange at first glance, since very few people in Brazil learn the German language. The explanation of this peculiarity might be found in the great emphasis of

the *Revista* on ethnography, which is handled in the majority of cases, traditionally, by the German ethnologists.

Among the North American sociologists who are working in Brazil I have to point out the name of Donald Pierson of the University of Chicago. His investigations about the Brazilian Negroes and the whole process of miscegenation are considered among the best contributions ever made. Fifteen of 27 articles of American sociologists published in the *Revista* were Pierson's contributions. Through his articles and translations many American sociologists, such as Robert Park, Ernest Burgess, Sorokin, and Bogardus, are now well known in Brazil.

Now one may ask if the *Revista's* papers approach sociology and social phenomena by a scientific method. This is a very difficult question to answer if one tries to compare its degree of objectivity with that found in the *Journal's* articles. Two things, however, would be susceptible of measurement: first, the scientific language used in the writings and, second, the frequency of statistics, tables, charts, and maps.

As far as scientific language is concerned, the *Revista's* papers do not in general show the same adequacy and accuracy as those of the *Journal*. But no one will find many figures of speech or literary allusions in the contents of the *Revista*. Most of the American sociological terminology such as *folkways*, *mores*, *ethos*, *status*, *stimulus*, *bias*, *social mobility*, etc., is definitely incorporated in the Portuguese vocabulary of the Brazilian sociologists. Although it is safe to assume that a better score on denotative terminology might be found in the *Journal's* papers, such an assumption would be very difficult to prove statistically.

Another way to measure the degree of objectivity is to make a comparative study of the frequency of tables, charts, and maps used by the authors in their surveys. This approach was attempted and the results show that in a period of 3 years the *Journal* presented 149 tables, 32 charts, and 6 maps; the figure for *Revista* is very disappointing. I find only 25 tables and 1 chart in 5 different issues. I have, then, to recognize the fact that the Brazilian sociologists are not very familiar with the statistical method of analysis of social phenomena.

Finally, a statement might be made about the teaching of sociology in Brazil. Unfortunately, I have to point out that in Brazil, with very few exceptions, sociology is not an academic discipline taught in the majority of the colleges and universities, as it is in this country.³ The first effort to introduce sociology as an academic subject, in 1936, was successful; but the courses were recently eliminated by the revision of the

³ Sociology in the United States, in 1944, was offered by 441 institutions with a total of 4,736 courses. See L. L. Bernard, "The Teaching of Sociology in the Last Fifty Years," *American Journal of Sociology*, 50: 535, May, 1945.

curricula of the preprofessional colleges. Due to lack of training, the few unspecialized, self-made Brazilian sociologists are dilettantes in the various fields of social sciences rather than professional sociologists.

In such a sterile background one may wonder how sociology could be developed in Brazil. The answer to this question might be found in the splendid pioneering work of a group of scientists sincerely devoted to sociological researches headed by Gilberto Freyre, a graduate of Columbia University, Arthur Ramos, Oliveira Vianna, Emilio Willems, Donald Pierson, and others. I have to point out also the role played by the "Escola Livre de Sociologia de São Paulo," which is at present developing the first generation of young sociologists who are trained in modern methods and techniques of a scientific sociology. *Sociologia-Revista Didática e Científica* shares with them the pioneering efforts in building up a sociology in Brazil.

SPEEDING UP HUMAN EVOLUTION

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● The physical evolution of man has virtually ended. Man's ear has changed little since the primitive man appeared on the world's stage, but today one can hear the voice of an individual on the other side of the globe. Man can run little, if any, faster than the original Marathon runner, but in an airplane he can equal the speed of sound. The microscope and the telescope are extraordinary aids to the eye but do not involve changes in the eye itself. Evolution in the future will be in the direction of changing the psychological, moral, and spiritual nature of human beings instead of modifying their physical characteristics. The trend will be toward directing into new and less dangerous channels the emotions, drives, and impulses of man. What is glibly called civilization consists fundamentally in curbing, modifying, or redirecting certain urges such as the desire for food and the sex attraction. Up to date, civilization is only a thin veneer over the primitive. The problem of human relations is now paramount.

Dictators emphasize the importance of the group, the party, or the nation; but democracy lays stress upon the individual, his dignity and rights. Consequently, in a democracy it is of particular importance that the universal desire for power, prestige, significance, or reputation be so directed or so modified as to make for peace between nations, for industrial peace, capacity production, and high-level employment, for the reduction of inequality of opportunity, and for the recognition of the dignity of the individual. In view of the rapid technological advances of recent decades, it becomes essential that changes in the direction and the intensity of psychological urges come quickly. The airplane and the radio are making the world one community. How may we hasten the transformation of narrow-minded men into broad-minded men? How may men with a parochial or national vision be transmuted into individuals with a world outlook? How may our business leaders, for example, be changed from short-visioned individuals without social responsibilities into professionally minded persons with a desire to be instruments in improving working and living conditions here and now for the great mass of the population? Pressures induced by propaganda, by education, by legislation, by conditions of working and living, or by dangers from within and without the nation may cause a change in the attitudes of

the people of a nation. May attitudes be changed by scientific methods as Burbank modified the nature of plants? If so, what social goals are to be set up?

Necessity slowly and often circuitously leads to progress. Geometry and surveying were painfully developed in Egypt so that the property lines might be re-established accurately after the annual overflow of the Nile. Invention in all of the earlier epochs of human history has been a hit-and-miss proposition. In the latter part of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century a planned method of invention was invented. The research laboratory is put to work on the problem of developing new appliances and methods of producing commodities and services.

As the research laboratory in the mechanical sciences produces new appliances quickly and reasonably surely, man should now try to apply research and scientific methods to human engineering so that the slow evolutionary process in human relations may be hastened. Scientific pioneering in man-to-man relationships is essential if, in a swift-moving technological world possessing the atomic bomb and other efficient means of manslaughter, mankind is to avoid a relapse into a world with which early generations are familiar. The fundamentals of human nature developed in long ages of privation, scarcity, and feuds need rechanneling as the Western world passes into an era of potential abundance and possible peace. Only in this scientific way may mankind hope to master "man's racial nature" and to control the destiny of the race of man.

Evolutionary processes due to changed economic conditions are pushing new incentives to the front and minimizing the importance of older ones. Humanity cannot afford to wait for the slow evolutionary processes in view of the rapid changes in ways of getting a living. Education is essential. Our problem of survival—world peace and internal stability and cooperation—depends upon aiding the evolutionary forces by education—that is, through concerted action, by schools and colleges, forums, churches, and governmental agencies. However, little of good will or of peace can be nurtured in a world in which large masses of the people are in fear of a lack of food, adequate shelter, and facilities for the promotion of health. A cautious observer will ask: Can the fundamental drives be redirected so long as hunger, poor health, and illiteracy are the sad birthrights of multitudes of human beings? Reasonable security for all peoples must be obtained before the basic impulses of man can be directed toward peace within and without the nation.

Custom and legislation have greatly modified the expression of our physical desires; our personal habits and ways of living, working, and carrying on business have also been affected by legislation and public opinion. For example, every village and city regulates the carrying of deadly weapons and also makes provision for a pure water supply. Pioneer methods are replaced by others intended to make for health and welfare in a crowded community. Daniel Boone was an excellent example of high-type frontiersman, but a man of similar habits carrying his rifle on the streets of Cleveland today would soon find himself in jail. He would be a menace to his fellow man on our city streets.

In like fashion businessmen and others carrying on as did our grandfathers may set into motion a train of events which leads directly to unemployment, closed workshops, and poverty. Because of their habits and methods they are dangerous in a technological and closely knit community. We limit hours of labor, fix minimum wages, require safety appliances, and declare certain methods of employment unfair. We do not allow a railway suddenly to go out of business. May we not also insist upon near-capacity production and lower prices in important industries in the interest of sustained production, markets, and prosperity? Legislation and moral education to the effect that excessive profits are detrimental to the well-being of the community are indicated.

May we not expect to modify or redirect by education, by legislation, and, presently, by custom, such physical or social urges as the desire for profits, for arbitrary power over others, for prestige in the eyes of one's associates, for significance? In an atomic age, in an age in which each is dependent for adequate food, shelter, and clothing upon the functioning of many and diverse workers, extreme individualism on the part of either management or labor needs to be toned down in the direction of social responsibility. To restrict output and close down plants in order to make large profits on each unit produced tends to reduce total national income, to increase unemployment, and, by reducing markets, to push the nation into a period of depression. In short, too great emphasis upon individual and immediate gains on the part of workers or of employers may injure the community and ultimately those who shortsightedly pursue such goals. We need education for the young and the adult upon the social or communal ill effects of the undiluted individualism of the pioneer. A definite, positive, attractive social peacetime goal should be placed directly before the eyes of the youth of the nation.¹

¹ See article by the writer in *Sociology and Social Research*, March-April, 1947.

As industrial and integrated society appeared above the horizon, men and women of different types and skills were forced to cooperate on large and intricate projects. The ability of men and women, of management and men, to live and work together in harmony was subjected to new and severe strains. Industrial warfare reared its ugly head. How may peaceful and stimulating human relations be obtained in this new technological world, troubled by many hangovers from an earlier and simpler industrial era? A scientist has suggested that "we can change the thought and habit of life in this country" in less than a generation. It took birds many generations before they acquired the wings and the know-how for flying. On the other hand, note the rapidity of development of the airplane. Within a few plant generations Burbank was able to change materially the characteristics of plants. Likewise, we may expect a Burbank dealing with the moral characteristics of man to modify them within a relatively short period of years. Youthful individuals and gangs of boys have been directed from destructive to constructive activities. Teachers in school teaching the manual arts have seen individual students transformed when offered interesting projects requiring skill.

The habits of thought of Americans can be changed rapidly through well-developed education of the young and the adult. Many of the habits of thinking and of reacting have come down without significant changes from the days of the pioneer, of small-scale industries, of dirt roads and wagons, and of kerosene lamps. Many persons seem proud of their prejudices. They cling tenaciously to antique mental furniture. To use a pronunciation which marks one as old fashioned or provincial is not commended; but to cling to an old prejudice, in an age of rapid scientific progress, does not put one outside the pale of good society. Indeed, it often seems to be a necessary card of admission to "good" or conservative society. There is much social inertia; there is a thick crust of tradition even in rapidly changing America. Upon the schools and colleges of the nation falls the major portion of the burden of changing the habits of life to square with a complex technological civilization. Law on all levels except the international has curbed brutality, robbery, and exploitation. Only on the international level is the reign of law superseded by force, violence, and rugged individualism, in short, by lawlessness.

The profit motive, upon which industry has placed great stress, is in reality a branch of the broader desire for power and significance. Today in the typical large corporation with a far-flung group of owners

the active management owns very little of the stock of the corporation. It is hired or salaried management. The old urges which led the owner-manager of a small business to follow certain business policies are no longer directly potent. These urges also do not function effectively in the management of cooperative enterprises. With the road to the traditional goals of industrial activity blocked for both active management and the workers, new and attractive goals should be found and emphasized which will lead to efficiency and prosperity in a complex world. Management may presently take on a professional point of view. It may find the way, aided by legislative guidance and education, toward significance and power in turning out an excellent product at a reasonable price and under good working conditions. Prodded by public opinion, management may, in the near future, recognize its responsibilities toward the public and the work force as well as toward absentee stockholders. Management may no longer be satisfied to exploit customers and workers in the interest of profits for almost functionless owners. A well-known industrial leader has remarked, "More and more I encounter men of the highest ability who regard business not as a means to acquire personal wealth, but as a fascinating profession and as an opportunity for accomplishment. New incentives to effort are in force." To hasten the immediate impact of these new incentives requires, in the words of the Committee for Economic Development, "the promotion of objective study, informed thinking, and constructive action." It should not be left to slow evolutionary processes.

Technological progress is forcing to the front the scientist, the engineer, and the administrative official in private corporations and in the public service. These men are the type of leaders whose proper training is essential to the evolution of a society in which peace, prosperity, and social morality obtain. The profit motive no longer directly impinges upon these important groups. It may be repeated that this hopeful trend of events may be hastened by appropriate educational endeavors, among which would be an analysis of the economic order. The national income depends upon the productive efficiency of the management-worker-owner team, and upon the distribution and use of purchasing power. Business needs buyers, and buyers are people with purchasing power which they are prepared to utilize. The ultimate consumer indirectly pays wages and profits. High wages, low unit cost, low unit profits, capacity output, and high-level employment go hand in hand.

A new attitude on the part of business leaders is resulting from tech-

nological progress, mass production, and large-scale industry. When there were many fiercely competing business units, restriction of output by one or a few had little effect upon supply or upon prices if others continued to put their goods upon the market. Today, agreements among a few large-scale producers resulting in the reduction of output and the holding up or raising of prices may adversely affect, directly or indirectly, multitudes of consumers. Capitalism or free enterprise is in danger of destroying itself through lack of sufficiently used purchasing power to buy the commodities and services we are technologically prepared to furnish. In the words of another, "the surest way to endear free enterprise to the hearts of the people the world over is to produce more and better goods at lower prices." Instead of charging as high prices as possible—that is, what the traffic will bear—wide-awake leaders are beginning to lower prices, widen markets, pay high wages, and make small unit profit on many units of output. This is in line with professional motives. It is in essence a redirection of the profit-making urge; it is a modification in which the individual's urge for significance makes for improvement in the standard of living for the mass of the people.

If a modified capitalistic system is to survive, nonfinancial incentives must be given a significant place in business. Unless their potency is increased, the economic ship is headed directly for the rocks of another serious depression, from which it can be rescued only by war or greatly increased governmental interference in the economy of the nation. H. G. Wells suggested a generation ago that the world was witnessing a race between education and catastrophe. Today, the only sort of education which has a reasonable chance to rescue the Western world from chaos is that concerned with the direction of deep-seated human impulses into channels making for greater social responsibility, for the general welfare, for the better life for all humanity. The nation sadly needs trained leadership competent to do long-range thinking and to get its ideas across quickly to the great mass of our population.

CAN THERE BE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY?

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● Underlying any adequate discussion of the "principles" of sociology is the conception of the term *principle* itself. According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, "*Principle*, in philosophy, means something ultimate. The early Greek philosophers applied the term to whatever they regarded as the primal stuff of which things are made, the source of all things . . . And now only the fundamental laws or assumptions of science and philosophy are usually called principles, the terms elements, energy, etc., being used instead of 'principle' in the other applications it once had. Popularly the term is often employed for any kind of general truth or guiding norm."¹ It might be deduced either that a principle is any verified generalization or that "only the fundamental laws or assumptions of science and philosophy are called principles . . ." Thus one can infer that both verified generalizations and unproved hypotheses are principles! Webster's dictionary likewise clarifies little. Seven definitions are given, but only the first three are relevant to the present question. "1. A source of origin; primordial substance; ultimate basis or cause. 2. An original faculty or endowment. 3. A fundamental truth; a primary or basic law, doctrine or the like."² Is this the nebulous foundation on which the "principles" of an "ology" are based? This vagueness may be the reason for the absence of a recognized, agreed-upon system of principles of sociology.

There seems to be agreement, however, that some sort of system of generalizations is necessary and desirable, regardless of the designatory term. After a study of current textbooks, John F. Cuber said,

The discipline [sociology] which claims eventually, if not now, to be a science, states few if any fundamental generalizations or "truths" of which it is apparently sure enough to set them forth as tentative principles . . . The point of view taken by the writer, then, is (a) that sociology cannot expect to gain status as long as it remains a "principleless science"—a discipline which is apparently so unsure of itself that it hesitates to state unequivocally its fundamental propositions.³

Lawrence Guy Brown, in commenting on the status of sociological theory, says,

The *third* demand has created an interest in the unifying principles that govern all social phenomena. These principles have been and will continue to be fashioned in research, and little progress will be made until the sociologists and other specialists begin to work in the same frame of reference.⁴

¹ 18: 498.

² *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*, fifth edition.

³ "Are There 'Principles' of Sociology?" *American Sociological Review*, 6:370 June, 1941.

⁴ *Social Pathology* (New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1942), p. 5.

George A. Lundberg voices this need, too, but he uses the term *postulates* instead of *principles*.

There exists at present no explicit statement of the postulates from which contemporary social science proceeds or the logic by which generalizations in these sciences are derived. Consequently there is endless confusion, contradiction, and argument regarding the permissible and effective methods of research and the validity of the conclusions reached in those fields.⁵

Beyond the agreement that some system of basic generalizations is necessary and desirable, the consensus among sociologists in regard to principles seems to end. Undoubtedly, this lack of consensus is a major factor behind the absence of a "recognized, agreed-upon system of principles of sociology." To what extent does this lack of consensus grow out of the fact that the term *principle* does not have the same meaning to all sociologists?

Two conceptions of the term seem to stand out in current usage. We may term these the *inclusive* and the *exclusive* usages, both of which have precedent in sociological literature. Cuber, by implication at least, employs the terms inclusively.

Do sociologists agree, then, that the following are among the "principles" (used generally to include "hypotheses," "truisms," "laws," and "generalizations") of contemporary sociology to be used for *direct instructional purposes* in the *introductory course* in sociology?⁶

Lundberg, on the other hand, seems to restrict the use of *principle* to something synonymous with scientific law.

Hunches, hypotheses, and guesses are produced, of course, by the responses of the organism to some situation, i.e., through data of experience, just as are the more adequately supported generalizations called principles or laws. "Hunches" differ from "principles" only in that the former rest upon more subjective (i.e., private, unverified), transitory, and quantitatively inadequate data.⁷

The confusion is further reflected in the tentative lists of principles compiled. Cuber offers a tentative collection of principles.⁸ Brown advances a somewhat related, but different, group.⁹ And Lundberg lists a related set of "postulates" and "corollaries."¹⁰ These generalizations are all "recognized," more or less among sociologists, but none of them constitutes an "agreed-upon" system.

Talcott Parsons avoids the use of the controversial term *principle* by presenting a system of "theory."

There is, more often implicit than explicit, a deep-rooted view that the progress of scientific knowledge consists essentially in the cumulative piling up of "discoveries" of "facts." Knowledge is held to be an entirely quantitative affair. The

⁵ *Foundations of Sociology* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1939), p. vii.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 371.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 371-72.

⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 75-77.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 8-14.

one important thing is to have observed what has not been observed before. Theory, according to this view, would consist only in generalized statements from known facts, in the sense of what general statements the known body of fact would justify. Development of theory would consist entirely in the process of modification of these general statements to take account of new discoveries of fact. Above all, the process of discovery of fact is held to be essentially independent of the existing body of "theory" to be the result of such impulse as "idle curiosity."

It is evident that such terms as "fact" are more in need of definition. This will come later. At the present juncture against the view just roughly sketched may be set another, namely, that scientific "theory"—most generally defined as a body of logically interrelated "general concepts" of empirical reference—is not only dependent but an independent variable in the development of science. It goes without saying that a theory to be sound must fit the facts but it does not follow that the facts alone, discovered independently of theory, determine what the theory is to be, nor that theory is not a factor in determining what facts will be discovered, what is to be the direction of interest in scientific investigation.¹¹

If *principle* be substituted for *theory*, which is the key word in Parsons' "blueprint for a system,"¹² Parsons' theory would serve as the framework around which could be built a system of principles of sociology, if the definition of *principle* were used in the inclusive sense. It is evident that the resulting system of generalization would differ from one based upon the restricted definition of the term following Lundberg. It can even be inferred from Parsons' position that a system of principles could not be constructed if the restricted definition of the term were used.

SUMMARY

1. There appears to be a consensus among sociologists that a recognized, agreed-upon system of principles of sociology is desirable.
2. The absence of such a system may be due to the lack of consensus in regard to the conception of the term *principle* itself.
3. This lack of consensus is reflected in the presence of two commonly accepted definitions of the term, the inclusive and the exclusive.
4. A system of principles seems now to be possible if sociologists can agree upon the use of the term *principle*. A compromise between the inclusive and exclusive uses of the word would be desirable. Otherwise it might be difficult, if not impossible, actually to utilize the existing verified empiric and theoretic knowledge.
5. It is the writer's position that principles are not only absolute laws but also theories and other generalizations which are based upon a considerable amount of empiric evidence, even though they fall short of complete and final proof.

¹¹ *The Structure of Social Action* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1937), p. 6.

¹² By a *system* of principles is meant a hierarchy of related superordinate and subordinate generalizations instead of a mere collection of related, or unrelated, principles of unequal importance.

SOCIOLOGY AND THE SOCIAL GOSPEL

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● Americans speak with pride of the separation of church from state. There is another separation, however, of which we cannot feel too proud. For years the church separated itself from the life about it and remained aloof from the problems of the day. The social and economic *status quo* was accepted, and the church expended its efforts on the saving of individual souls. Following the Civil War a period of revivalism stressed individual salvation almost exclusively. There was slight interest in bringing any change in the social and economic situation. The church was indifferent to the development of the labor movement and to the abuses which came with the growth of big business. So long as church members attended services on Sunday and did not transgress the Ten Commandments, they were assured of reserved seats in heaven. Why, then, be concerned about unwholesome social conditions which were developing?

In the eighties, however, sociology began to exert an influence, and a small group of ministers broke with the idea of individualism which had dominated the church for a long time; a new emphasis appeared. Washington Gladden and Josiah Strong were the earliest voices crying in the wilderness. They published several books which discussed the evils of the day and thereby aroused an interest in the ethical aspects of our economic life. These men had worthy successors in Francis G. Peabody, Shailer Mathews, Graham Taylor, Walter Rauschenbusch, Henry C. Vedder, and others. Literature in an ever-increasing stream came from this group and probably rose to its greatest height in the writings of Rauschenbusch, who became the outstanding leader in the movement.

Gradually the interest in social Christianity took such a hold that the various denominations set up social service commissions and their presses sent forth pamphlets and books for use in the churches—these were not without results. Ministers became interested in various reforms. Work with laborers in industry was carried on by the Presbyterians under Charles H. Stelzle. The Interchurch World Movement published a searching report on the steel strike which had an extended influence. The Commission on Social Service of the Federal Council of Churches made investigations of such significance that several organizations of manufacturers were aroused against the Commission. Groups carried on activities in the interest of world peace and also endeavored to improve inter-

racial situations. The social gospel movement exerted much influence, and as a consequence a considerable amount of humanitarian legislation was written into federal and state codes. The World War, however, shattered ideals and dreams, and the movement declined in the mad twenties. Calvin Coolidge was president of the United States; Herbert Hoover wrote his book on rugged individualism; God was in his heaven; and prosperity stalked abroad in the land. Why should anyone be concerned about social salvation or the Kingdom of God on a bull market?

Several factors have been responsible for the setback to the movement. Some of the early advocates of the social gospel grew overenthusiastic and expected too much in a short time; then when the anticipated results were not forthcoming became disillusioned. For instance, the church element supported the prohibition movement whole-heartedly and believed with a sincerity that was almost pathetic that all our problems would be solved. When the "noble experiment" failed, they became hesitant about what they could do. Premillenarianism, which is directly opposed to any attempt to improve a world that is considered lost, took advantage of this situation and exercised no inconsiderable influence. Neo-orthodoxy, which came out of the "crisis theology" of Germany with its emphasis on supernaturalism and the helplessness of man, began to make great inroads in America. Two world wars, despite the fact that the first one was "a war to end all wars," a serious world-wide economic depression, and finally the atomic bomb made it easy to adopt a futilitarian point of view. Man seemed to have no more control over his destiny than a fly over the propeller shaft of a giant ocean liner!

Much of the literature of the social gospel movement is of the *reformist* type. Many of the books have scathing and penetrating criticisms of the social order. Frequently, to be sure, the criticisms tend to be one-sided. That, however, is one of the prices the reformer must pay—he must be so completely under the spell of his one dominant idea that he can see, think, speak nothing else. His burning desire to right the wrong makes it actually impossible for him to relate his particular problem to the total situation. The reformer has his solution ready at hand, but this is likely to have a speculative rather than a scientific basis. For instance, when church groups developed a concern about family disorganization, the proposed remedy was to be found in a return to certain traditional practices such as the devotional study of the Bible, restoration of the family altar, regular attendance at church services, and fitting observance of the Lord's Day. The solutions are quite likely to be par-

ticularistic. For instance, since Rauschenbusch and Vedder were ardent socialists, economic determinism bulked large in their thinking. The eleven years Rauschenbusch ministered to a poverty-stricken congregation in New York City led him to believe that if poverty could be abolished, practically all our social problems would vanish. We will readily admit that poverty is important, but it is not the only operative factor in our social order. In these particularistic proposals there is a likelihood that the probable good results are set forth while the possible evil effects are ignored. This has stood out prominently in the temperance movement, particularly with reference to prohibition.

Since the majority of the writers on the social gospel were ministers, they had a tradition according to which they referred to authority. They were familiar with such expressions as "the authority of the Bible" and "the authority of Jesus." One church group had a slogan: "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; where they are silent, we are silent." They could not divest themselves of this tradition by a stroke of the pen, and this heritage was a serious hindrance. In dealing with a steel strike, a sales tax, or the closed shop they could find no pronouncement of Jesus which would authoritatively settle these problems. When this method of reference to authority brought no satisfactory results, actual studies were made of situations, but even here the outcome was not gratifying when they attempted to use the techniques of social science. Clifford Kirkpatrick comments: "Occasionally, statistical reports . . . are issued that serve admirably as horrible examples for elementary classes in statistical method."¹ All too often the statistical data were compiled to support some preconceived theological position rather than for testing a hypothesis.

Often the approach was that of denunciation. For several years the pulpit denounced war, but still it came. Little was done to analyze the causes of war so that effort might be directed more intelligently toward its prevention.

Writers in this field have seen the need for doing something, but most of them have lacked adequate training in social science. Furthermore, they have been too impatient to make use of the sociologists or the results of their researches. They have said: "You sociologists are too theoretical; we want something practical, something that will bring immediate results." (They might be reminded that the practical is all too often an uncritical repetition of the mistakes of the past.) They have not recognized the complexity of social problems and the consequent need for research

¹ *Religion in Human Affairs* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1929), pp. 441-42.

before adopting some course of action. Consequently, "there is likely to be an ineffective choice of means to ends and a blindness to truly effective but roundabout methods."²

Clergymen in the social gospel movement have tried to take in too much territory. Had they cooperated with the social scientists, the probability is that the results would have been more gratifying. The prophet has a place in dealing with social questions, but he is not the system-maker, or even the foreteller of the future. According to Francis G. Peabody,

He is the advocate of righteousness; he lays bare the sins of his people, and pronounces judgment on their transgression; he pictures the rule of equity . . . It does not need a training in political economy to make one sensitive to social sins . . . The prophet may not know precisely what form the better future is to assume; and when he depicts the details of that future, he may become only an impracticable visionary.³

Carlyle and Ruskin criticized the social order of their day in scathing terms and rendered a valuable service. Then they proposed to escape modern ills by solutions which were reactionary reversions to medievalism. The prophetic element in both of these literary men has lived on while their schemes for betterment have long since been forgotten. Many ministers moved by social wrongs have cried out in the wilderness with prophetic voice against injustices, but when they have assumed the role of social planners, they have been failures. Neither ethical passion nor rhetorical genius equips a preacher for making judgments in the economic field. In that he needs the cooperation of the social scientist.

Charles Clayton Morrison has pointed out a pertinent factor in the arrest of the social gospel.⁴ According to him, the traditional "cultus" of the church is far removed from the social gospel and does not provide a congenial setting or atmosphere for it. By "cultus" is meant the total public and objective expression of religion, its body of ruling concepts, standards, mode of organization, lore, ritual, hymnology, and ceremonials. The prophetic preaching of the social gospel seems foreign to the traditional ritual. Terms relative to individual salvation and otherworldliness are part and parcel of the lore. On the other hand, concepts relative to social salvation seem to be strange and incongruous—they are even called irreligious and profane as over against the sacred symbols of individualism. When an audience sings lustily "The Son of God Goes Forth to War"

² Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 443.

³ *Jesus Christ and the Social Question* (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1900), pp. 30-31.

⁴ *The Social Gospel and the Christian Cultus* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1933), *passim*.

(that old hymn which verily drips with gore), it is not prepared in the best way to receive a message on "The Conscientious Objector" by Rufus M. Jones. As a boy, in his first contacts with a religious service, the writer learned a song entitled "Beulah Land," of which the first two lines run:

I've reached the land of corn and wine,
And all its riches freely mine.

He has not heard it for years, but still he finds himself singing these words from time to time. Can it be that this song, which was pitched to the key of individual sensual pleasure, developed an attitude which was particularly receptive to a social gospel?

Morrison's analysis shows the need for an organic, total situational approach in this field.

As the social gospel movement gathered momentum, many joined the procession who were actual hindrances, even though they believed sincerely that they had caught the real spirit and were making valuable contributions. They conjured with the word *social*. Social conscience, social betterment, social programs, social uplift, social welfare were charmed words. Social service became the sum and substance of Christianity. Social settlements and institutional churches blossomed out. The wealthy and cultured went slumming. Soup kitchens were opened and we heard of "soup and salvation." A more accurate designation, however, would be "soup and damnation." Feeding men, with no attempt to rehabilitate them or to remove the causes of their distress, only sinks them deeper in the mire. The social gospel went to extremes and became shallow. Folks were interested in doing good, especially to the poor, but this obsession for doing good blinded them to the *better* and the *best*. Some few years ago the writer heard a sermon in which the minister said quite emphatically: "I challenge you to stay away from the movies and give me the money to be used in relief of suffering." He said that we should sympathize with suffering wherever found. Thus far we may agree, but he did not challenge anyone to an endeavor to *stop* suffering—that is important in the social gospel. A minister in a large downtown church in one of our cities related with considerable pride how they had provided free coffee and rolls for large numbers of unemployed during the depression. He said that the businessmen were not cruel and heartless, for they sent liberal checks to defray the expenses. They did this gladly. But had the minister tried to bring about a fundamental improvement in employment conditions so that free sandwiches would not be necessary, then the gladness would probably have changed its complexion.

Nevertheless, this spree of sentimentality was not all loss. Some of those who had lived sheltered lives had their eyes opened by their contacts with the underprivileged and became genuinely interested in doing something more basically sound.

The social gospel movement has suffered a setback, but that should bring neither jubilation to its opponents nor dismay to its proponents. Alva W. Taylor wrote in 1942:

There may be a reaction from the social gospel wave of two decades ago, but it is only temporary; the gospel of the Kingdom of God is social, and the ethical leadership of the Christian world cannot ignore it nor can a conventional pulpit or an ecclesiastical church management long submerge it.⁵

The social gospel has been largely responsible for the development of a permanently valid and indispensable point of view, that men have a responsibility for the reconstruction of society. The present perplexity can be a real opportunity for a critical self-examination on the basis of which some of the dead tissue may be sloughed off and the movement go forward more intelligently and with renewed vigor.

Many in the field of religion have an inadequate idea of the group concept and the significance of the group in human life. For instance, Reinhold Niebuhr says: "Our optimistic rationalists fail to recognize that the collective enterprises of man belong to the order of nature more than to the order of reason."⁶ According to this statement and others in the same book, group behavior appears to be of a lower order—evidently all of it is on the level of mob or "psychological crowd" behavior.

To some of the writers the individual is set over against the group—they are two separate and conflicting entities. They have observed certain extremes, like totalitarianism in Europe or mob violence in America, and then have swung to the opposite extreme. They seem to be unaware of the contributions of Cooley and others on the organic relationship of the individual and society. A recent book by Ernest F. Scott, a well-known New Testament scholar, is filled with inconsistencies and warped conceptions because of his lack of acquaintance with basic sociological concepts. He says:

The distinctive thing in Christianity is the emphasis which it lays on the human personality. It has proved the mightiest of social forces because it asserts the right of the individual man over against the society which is ever seeking to absorb or suppress him.⁷

⁵ *Journal of Religion*, 22: 427, 1942.

⁶ *Reflections on the End of an Era* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1934), p. 31.

⁷ *Man and Society in the New Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), p. viii.

Scott says that the New Testament knows nothing of society, but he uses the term *personality* freely. He does not, however, accept the idea that personality is achieved in the process of social interaction. He tells about a person having contacts with other men, but "they cannot change that personality which he has brought from some mysterious source into this world."⁸ The book has much that is of value, but it is definitely spoiled by an overdriven philosophy of individualism which the author brought to the New Testament rather than finding it there.

As one reads the literature in this field, it becomes quite plainly evident that ministers would be better off if they read less of John Calvin and more of Lester F. Ward, less of Jonathan Edwards and more of Charles H. Cooley, less of Charles H. Spurgeon and more of W. I. Thomas, less of Reuben A. Torrey and more of Harry Elmer Barnes.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

RACIAL RESTRICTIVE COVENANTS

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The period during, and immediately following, the First World War was productive of a series of three causally connected events: high industrial wages, large-scale urban migration of Negroes, and numerous city ordinances designed to achieve racial residential segregation. Lawmakers of that day reasoned that, since the United States Supreme Court had upheld laws requiring racial segregation in schools and public vehicles, there would be no constitutional objection to residential ordinances which separated the various racial groups. They reasoned, or rationalized, that such laws would not be discriminatory if the white portion of the population were restricted from living in the Negro area to the same extent that Negroes were forbidden to reside in those portions of the city designated for white use. In the *Buchanan vs. Warley* decision in 1919 the Supreme Court declared all such laws to be in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. Since the *Buchanan vs. Warley* decision, it has become well established that political subdivisions can not zone on the basis of race. As a result of this decision, those groups which found it economically or socially desirable to exclude certain racial groups from "Caucasian" sections of the city discovered that they could accomplish the same objectives by means of private agreements between landowners to restrict the sale and/or use of their land to certain groups. The courts of a number of states have upheld such agreements. In addition, the Supreme Court's action in the case of *Corrigan vs. Buckley* (1926) has been used to sustain the constitutionality of agreements and covenants between individuals which forbid the use of certain lands to certain races. The following quotation, taken from a covenant attached to a certain land tract in Los Angeles, California, furnishes a simple and direct definition of a racial restrictive covenant.

... none of the lots or parcels of lands . . . shall be used or possessed or occupied, leased, rented, transferred, assigned, granted or conveyed or devised, sold or mortgaged to any person not of the white or Caucasian race . . .

The wording may differ, but most racial restrictive covenants follow the type quoted, with variations necessary to conform to differing state laws. Such covenants are not new to society. They have existed in purpose since the inception of the doctrines of racial superiority and racial inferiority. The present form of the racial restrictive covenant, however, is largely the product of the events, described above, which followed the First World War.

The Second World War has produced a series of events which parallels the 1914-1919 period: high industrial wages, large-scale urban migration of Negroes, and a definite increase in the number of racial restrictive covenants. Similarly, as racial zoning ordinances were contested in 1919 so are private racial residential agreements being contested in the wake of the Second World War. The moral issues involved in the protest are overshadowed by the actual physical needs of the people most affected by such covenants. In the city of Los Angeles, for example, where the residential occupancy rate is already over 100 per cent, the Negro portions of the population find it necessary to live in one of four segregated areas with an occupancy rate which is approximately 40 per cent higher than the average for the city.¹ The results have been similar to what one might logically expect from such crowded living conditions. In their desire to obtain a decent dwelling place, many Negroes, through ignorance of restrictive covenants or the hope of successfully contesting such covenants, have moved into areas which were restricted by deed or covenant to members of the Caucasian race. The "Caucasian groups" have reacted strongly to this "invasion" of "their" land. Some of this reaction is based on emotional feeling toward the Negro race, and some is caused by the economic fear of the devaluation of their real estate holdings in the area. Whatever the cause, the Caucasian owners in the area bring legal pressure to bear on the newcomer in an effort to force him out of the area. The Laws case furnishes a good example.²

Henry Laws, a Negro, had built a home in a section of Los Angeles which was, by covenant, limited to Caucasian use. Moved by objections from neighbors, the court ordered the Lawses to move. When they failed to comply, the court fined and imprisoned Henry Laws, his wife Anna Laws, and their daughter Pauletta Laws on the charge of contempt of court. The case was taken to the California Supreme Court on a petition for a writ of habeas corpus. One of the main issues in the appeal was that Henry Laws had disobeyed the court order only because he was unable to find another place to live. The lawyers defending Mr. Laws argued that "disobedience of an order of court is not contempt where it is due to the inability of the accused to comply with the order, and such inability is not due to voluntary and fraudulent conduct of the contemner."³ The lawyers argued on the grounds of reasonableness. They pointed out and showed evidence to the fact that the Lawses had made

¹ Estimate of Frank Wilkinson, member of the Mayor's Special Committee on the Housing Emergency, *Burkman vs. Laws*, 63 Cal. App. (2d) 230.

² *Burkman vs. Laws*, 63 Cal. App. (2d) 230.

³ 5 California Jurisprudence, p. 948.

diligent efforts to find another place in which to live, but that no reasonable living quarters were available. The more important argument, however, was the contention that the enforcement of the covenant by judicial process violates constitutional guarantees as embodied in the Fourteenth Amendment.

The arguments of those in opposition to racial restrictive covenants fall into two groups. The first concerns such arguments as reasonableness, which was pleaded in the *Laws* case, or arguments arising out of technical flaws in covenant construction. The *Graves* case⁴ (1946) furnishes an interesting example of this latter type of argument. Some states have ruled that restrictions against the *use* of land by certain racial groups are legal, but that restrictions against the *sale* of the same land to those same racial groups are illegal.⁵ It is interesting to note that those states which prohibit restrictions against the sale of land do so in consideration of the property rights of the seller rather than by any claim put forth by the buyer. In California the fundamental property rights are embodied in the California Civil Code.⁶ In an interpretation of this the Superior Court ruled that "A provision in deed restraining alienation [of land], either as to person or time is void . . ."⁷ The covenant in the *Graves* case combined a restriction against the use of land with a restriction against the sale of land. Since restraints of alienation are illegal, it was argued that the entire contract was illegal. The contract was signed as a unit, and the illegality of one part of the contract released the signers from the other agreements of the contract.

The second group of arguments concerns the question of constitutionality. In both the *Graves* and the *Laws* cases, there was the contention that court enforcement of racial restrictive covenants constitutes state action in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Cases which are won on the strength of the first group of arguments are interesting from a legal standpoint, but they do not make any great progress in the elimination of racial restrictive covenants. Cases won on technical flaws have opened and may continue to open a few more housing areas to minority groups. But the method is a self-exterminating process. The Caucasian landowner notes well the flaws that are discovered in the construction of the contested covenants and takes the precautions neces-

⁴ *Hill vs. Graves*, L.A. No. 4698, Supreme Court of California.

⁵ Restrictions against sale upheld by Supreme courts of Alabama, Colorado, Kansas, Louisiana, Missouri, and Oklahoma. Restrictions against sale are illegal in California, Michigan, Ohio, and West Virginia.

⁶ Sections 711-715, California Civil Code.

⁷ *Title Guarantee & Trust Company vs. Garrott*, 42 Cal. App. 153.

sary to assure himself that those flaws do not exist in the covenants which protect his property. The only method by which minority segregation by means of covenant can be prevented is to successfully challenge the constitutionality of state enforcement of racial restrictive covenants.

The attack on racial restrictive covenants must revolve around the question of the power of the court to uphold a contract between individuals to restrict, on the basis of race, the use of their land. For it must be realized at the outset that there is no illegality in a simple agreement between individuals. People have a perfect right in a democracy, irrespective of the moral issues involved, to sell (or refuse to sell) to whomever they choose. If a man does not want to sell his land to a Negro, there is little a court can or should be able to do about it. The reason the man may not wish to sell to a non-Caucasian is also immaterial. He may do it for economic reasons or he may refuse because he agreed with someone that he should do so. The constitutionality of the question involves only the power of a court to uphold such an agreement when it has been willingly violated by one of the owners and the right of the court to prevent a buyer from using his newly acquired property by upholding a restrictive covenant to which the buyer is not a signer.

The legal history of the question of the constitutionality of racial restrictive covenants is rather unusual. Generally, the law is considered a force of conservatism which is continually several years behind the times. Many of the progressive ideas of a quarter of a century ago are recognized by the courts of today. But in the case of restrictive covenants, the reverse seems to be true. In 1892 a case came before the Federal Circuit court involving the question whether or not a restrictive covenant which was utilized in San Diego against a Chinese was legal. In handing down its decision, the court stated,

It would be a very narrow construction of the constitutional amendment in question (the Fourteenth) and the decisions based on it and a very restricted application of the broad principle upon which both the amendment and the decisions proceed to hold that while state and municipal legislatures are forbidden to discriminate against the Chinese in their legislation, a citizen of the state may lawfully do so by contract which the courts may enforce . . . Any result inhibited by the Constitution can no more be accomplished by contracts of individual citizens than by legislation, and the court should no more enforce the one than the other.⁸ This decision, if a value judgment will be overlooked, is perhaps the most enlightened of all court decisions on racial restrictive covenants.

⁸ *Gondolfo vs. Hartman*, 49 Federal 181, 182 (1892).

Since that time, the fight to abolish racial restrictive covenants has suffered a definite decline.

In California the Gary case became the legal stand-by for upholding restrictive covenants. The Supreme Court of California decided that "the Supreme Court of the United States has held in a number of instances that the inhibition [of the Fourteenth Amendment] applies exclusively to action by the State and has no reference to action by individuals such as involved here."⁹ Actually, the Supreme Court has spoken only once on the question of racial restrictive covenants and that not in the manner of court decision. In the case of *Corrigan vs. Buckley* it stated that "prohibitions of the Fourteenth Amendment have reference to State action exclusively and not to the actions of individuals."¹⁰ It is this case which the California Supreme Court, as well as the courts of other states, relies most heavily upon to support the legality of contracts between individuals for the purposes of racial restrictions. The background of this case, *Corrigan vs. Buckley*, is very interesting. The case arose in the District of Columbia, to which the Fourteenth Amendment does not apply. The case was never heard or judged before the Supreme Court. The quotation above was taken from the statement made by the court in turning down the petition for a Supreme Court hearing on the grounds that the court lacked jurisdiction. In refusing to hear the case, the court handed down, as is customary, a bit of advice. This advice, although it merits consideration, does not have the same legal weight as a court decision. As the situation stands, the Supreme Court of the United States has not rendered a decision on racial restrictive covenants nor have the supreme courts of thirty-five of the states.

The arguments of those in favor of racial restrictive covenants are relatively simple. Defending lawyers admit that racial zoning by state legislation is unconstitutional and that there should be no restrictions on the sale of property, but they do contend that the court has the right to decide issues involved in race restrictive agreement against use of land and to enforce those agreements. They argue that a man's being a Negro gives him no more rights than he would have if he were white. "When a non-Caucasian buys land impressed with a servitude or restricted against a certain use with knowledge of the terms of the restriction, how can he claim to own more than he bought?"¹¹ When a non-Cau-

⁹ *Los Angeles Investment Co. vs. Gary*, 181 Cal. 680, p. 683.

¹⁰ *Corrigan vs. Buckley*, 271 U.S. 323.

¹¹ Appellant's Reply Brief, *Anderson vs. Auseth*, Supreme Court of California, L.A. No. 19759, p. 21.

casian buys a piece of restricted property he buys the right to own the land, not use it. These arguments by the advocates of racial restrictions revolve around the rights of contracts. They hold that the freedom of contract is one of the fundamentals of our democracy. People in this country have a right to make a contract against the construction of certain industries on the contracted property. Similarly, they can make contracts prohibiting certain racial groups from using the contracted property. They reason that if the court were to refuse to uphold a covenant against use of property by Negroes, the court need not uphold a covenant against building factories in a residential area. (The latter, incidentally, was the original purpose of the restrictive covenant.) There seems to be a blind refusal of these lawyers, and most of the country's legal minds, to recognize any distinction between the right of a person or group of persons to forbid, by agreement or deed, otherwise lawful use of the land and the right of a person or group of persons to forbid *any* use of the land by a whole class of persons.

The arguments of the opponents of racial restrictive covenants begin with the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which states that "No State shall make or enforce a law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States." The exact nature of these privileges and immunities was later defined as follows, "citizens, of every race and color . . . shall have the same right in every state and territory of the United States, to make and enforce contracts, to sue, be parties, give evidence, to inherit, purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey real and personal property . . . as is enjoyed by any white citizen."¹² The defenders of racial restrictive covenants will agree up to this point and make two observations: (1) the Fourteenth Amendment applies to states and not to individuals, and racial restrictive covenants are contracts between individuals; (2) the privileges of property are to "purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey," and nothing is said about the right to use property. In answer to these arguments, the opponents of restrictive covenants contend that the State *acts* when a court upholds or enforces a racial restrictive covenant. In addition to prohibiting discriminatory state laws,¹³ the Buchanan vs. Warley case also brought out the point that "Any state action which denies this immunity (against discriminatory laws) to a colored man is in conflict with the Constitution." Opponents of restrictive covenants next point out that "the judicial act of the highest court of the state, in authoritatively construing and enforcing its laws, is the act of

¹² Civil Rights Bill of 1866.

¹³ See above, p. 616.

State."¹⁴ In addition, "Whoever by virtue of public position . . . deprives another of property . . . violates the constitution . . . his act is that of the state."¹⁵ Finally, they point out that the Fourteenth Amendment "governs any action of a state whether through its legislature, through its courts, or through its executive or administrative officers."¹⁶ The contention is that the courts, when they enforce a private agreement which discriminates against minority, violate the Constitution. As long as the agreement remains a private one between individuals it is not illegal, but it is illegal for the courts to enforce such an agreement.

The second observation of the upholders of restrictive covenants is that the Civil Rights Bill says nothing about usage as a fundamental right of property. The Civil Rights Bill merely lists "purchase, lease, sell, hold and convey" as the rights of property. The property right of usage was considered so fundamental that the only argument put forth by the former Attorney General of the state of California was the question, "Is there a more fundamental right in property than that of a family to live in a home which they legally own?"¹⁷ The invidious distinction between ownership and use is extremely new in legal history. Its growth parallels the growth of the question of racial restrictive covenants. Its relative recency limits the number of authorities available, but it has been stated that, "It is elementary that it (the right of property) includes the right to acquire, *use* and dispose of it."¹⁸

The main contention of the defenders of racial restrictive covenants, however, is that the court is not acting in a manner which is contradictory to the Fourteenth Amendment. When faced with the evidence presented on the previous pages, they admit that the courts act when they uphold a restrictive covenant but in doing so merely tolerate a discrimination by an individual. The court in no manner asserts the right of a state to do so. There is no definite legal answer on whether or not a court action, in enforcing a racial covenant, constitutes state action in violation of the privileges and immunities clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In all probability, this question will be the center of controversy, if and when the issue of racial restrictive covenants comes before the Supreme Court.

In commenting on the above question, another constitutional issue is raised. Opponents of racial restrictive covenants hold that such covenants

¹⁴ *Twining vs. New Jersey*, 211 U.S. 78, p. 90.

¹⁵ *Ex Parte Virginia*, 100 U.S. 339.

¹⁶ *Mooney vs. Holohan*, 294 U.S. 103.

¹⁷ Brief of the Attorney General, as Amicus Curiae, *Anderson vs. Auseth*, Supreme Court of California, L.A. No. 19759, p. 8.

¹⁸ *Buchanan vs. Warley*, 245 U.S. 60, p. 71.

violate the doctrine of equal protection of laws as embodied in the Fourteenth Amendment. A legal writer observed, "The decision in *Los Angeles Investment Co. vs. Gary and the Cazeaux Case* . . . merely affirmed the right of an individual to discriminate against Negroes . . . and in no way sanctions such a discrimination by the state, either through its legislative or judicial departments."¹⁹ A different question would be presented if the courts, while adhering to the decisions reached in these cases, were subsequently to hold that a similar covenant against Jews, Italians, and Chinamen, or any other class of persons except Negroes, would be invalid. Upon that hypothesis the state could, by its judiciary, have established a discrimination against Negroes . . ."²⁰ The section of the Constitution discussed was the section of the Fourteenth Amendment which grants citizens equal protection of the laws. There is evidence that such equal protection has been denied Negroes in California.

In a case involving an American of Mexican descent the court refused to uphold a restrictive covenant. The covenant in question stated that "No portion of the said property shall at any time be used, leased, owned, or occupied by any Mexican or persons other than of the Caucasian race."²¹ The court held that "said provision . . . respecting and concerning defendants and the enforcement thereof by this Court is violative of the V and XIV Amendments of the Constitution of the United States . . ."²² In a similar case involving a Mexican-American—*A. T. Collison, et al., vs. Nellie García, et al.*—the court again refused to uphold the covenant and strictly on the constitutional issue. Nowhere in the briefs of the defenders of restrictive covenants are there any arguments on this point. This seems to indicate discrimination against the Negro.

It is on the above two points that the fight against restrictive covenants is being fought. First, that the action of the courts in upholding racial restrictive covenants constitutes state action which deprives minority groups of their property rights. Second, that such court actions have denied equal protection of the laws to certain citizens. An attempt is being made to bring the issue before the United States Supreme Court; until that time the possibility of anything more than a few limited legal victories in the fight against racial restrictive covenants can hardly be expected. The accepted precedents have already been set. It will take a definite step by the Supreme Court to specifically outlaw racial restrictive

¹⁹ See above, p. 620.

²⁰ *American Law Reports*, Vol. 9, p. 122.

²¹ *Ashley V. Doss vs. Alex P. Bernal*, Superior Court of California, No. 41466.

²² *Loc. cit.*

covenants before the major battle against such covenants will be won.

In spite of the contention by defending lawyers that they are only trying to protect the right of contract, the question is, in reality, one of racial discrimination. The Supreme Court outlawed racial zoning by governmental subdivisions because those zoning ordinances were judged to be discriminatory. The discriminatory character is not lost when the effect of a racial zoning ordinance is gained by means of an agreement of individuals. Racial restrictive covenants have succeeded, in virtually every large American city, in keeping the Negro in a confined area which has all the aspects of a ghetto. These circumstances cannot be considered accidental. In the city of Chicago alone there are a hundred and seventy-five organizations dedicated to the imposing of neighborhood restrictive covenants against ownership or use by various minority groups.²³ It seems rather incongruous that a nation which was so recently shocked by the ghettos of Europe should allow its citizens to accomplish that end by legally enforceable agreements.

In answer to the charge of racial discrimination, some lawyers defending racial restrictive covenants take a curious stand. They maintain that in a racial restrictive covenant case, "There is no question of social policy, sociology, social privilege nor politics before the court."²⁴ They argue that the question "is one of law to be decided by the law . . ."²⁵ In taking this stand, the above lawyers seem to show a lack of, or disregard for, the basic philosophy of law. They seem to fail to realize that "law is not a meaningless set of arbitrary principles to be mechanically applied by the courts, but that it exists for certain ends."²⁶ These ends have been formulated differently from time to time, but the essential end is to "embody social justice in law."²⁷ The definition of social justice is, of course, open for discussion, but by the theoretically accepted standards in our democracy, whether they be religious, political, or philosophical, racial restrictive covenants as they exist are in contradiction to the concept of social justice.

²³ H. I. Kahen, *University of Chicago Law Review*, 12:198.

²⁴ Appellant's Reply Brief, *Anderson et al.*, L.A. 19759.

²⁵ *Loc. cit.*

²⁶ J. L. Briery, *The Law of Nations* (London: Oxford University Press), p. 16.

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*

STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARD AND PARTICIPATION IN CAMPUS ORGANIZATIONS

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At least once during each college generation a clamor arises from students on any campus that there is inadequate provision for extracurricular activities.¹ With approximately equal frequency each faculty, or some part of it, raises the question whether extracurricular activities are not absorbing too much of the students' time and energy. In both cases the attitudes toward the "problem" and the definition of the problem are subjective. Seldom is any attempt made to compare the related objective facts with these subjective attitudes. The following paper makes some attempt to do so.

Methodology. The data for this survey were gathered by the prepared questionnaire method.² The information is no doubt subject to all the common faults of such a method except that an interviewer was present while each questionnaire was being completed, so that all questions were answered uniformly and completely. Rather than a small carefully chosen sample, a large random sample was taken. Because the survey took place near the beginning of school, freshmen were purposely excluded. The 689-person sample thus included about two thirds of the chosen universe. The questionnaires asked for both fact and expressed opinion. Both were carefully tabulated, and an attempt was made to discover relationships between certain facts, and between facts and attitudes. No readily useful means of checking the validity of the results obtained was available. The only discrepancy readily observable was a disproportionate number of officerships. This apparently was due to the fact that students did not list class and associated students memberships as "memberships," while the officers of such groups did report "officerships" for them. This means that students reporting zero memberships actually were not wholly without organizational contacts and opportunities.

Results. Since it was desired to find what differentials existed in active

¹ Since campus organizations are a matter of practical concern to students, faculty, and administration, the survey upon which this paper is based was undertaken with the dual purpose of gathering pertinent sociological data and valid information for specific college policy.

² The institution at which this survey was made is a privately endowed, liberal arts college of about 1,000 students. It is located on the edge of the Los Angeles metropolitan area, and draws the bulk of its students from Southern California. The survey was conducted in November of 1946.

organization membership between various groups, the sample was divided into several nonexclusive categories. By using these categories, it was found that new students (all transfers) were only slightly less likely to belong to organizations: 1.22 per old student, 1.11 per new student. This may indicate, among other things, that transfers do not consider themselves as an out-group, nor are they thought of as such by the older students. As has previously been shown by other investigators,³ students with better grades were more active. Students reporting an A average were almost twice as active as those reporting a C average, with 1.9 and 1.0 organizational activities respectively. Although this does not offer a scientific disproof as to the "interfering" of studies and activities, it does show that a considerable proportion of the better students do carry both satisfactorily. This is strikingly borne out by the data below on officer-ships. These data also suggest the unlikelihood of a direct causal relationship between poor grades and normal organizational activity. No information was available on varying types of organizational activity preferred by good or poor students, if any such variation actually exists.

Little difference was noted between sexes, the men being slightly more active, with 1.20 memberships to 1.15 for the women. Had the sex ratio of students been less nearly equal either presently or traditionally, some significant variations might have been found. Employment had no observable influence on the number of memberships.

There were on this campus three groups of considerable current importance whose numbers in prewar years had been negligible at best: veterans, students living off campus, and married students. As it happened, all three of these categories ranked sufficiently below the average that it seems justifiable to assign membership in one or more of these groups as a significant item in the constellation of factors inhibiting extracurricular activity. Veterans averaged 1.01 memberships, off-campus students averaged .81, while married students indicated by far the lowest participation of all, with an average of .69 each. This latter figure is not so surprising in view of the fact that the married group is largely both veteran and off-campus.

For the sample as a whole, the modal number of memberships per student was one, the median two. Forty per cent reported no extracurricular memberships at all, 20 per cent held three or more, and only one in a

³ F. Stuart Chapin, "Research Studies of Extra-curricular Activities and Their Significance in Reflecting Social Change," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, 4: 491-98, April, 1931; William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Sociology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946), pp. 246-48.

hundred reported membership in six or more. Top scores went to two socially minded junior-year girls who reported nine active memberships each.

Officerships were reported by the various categories in a ratio closely approximating their standing on memberships. Old students, logically enough, averaged twice as many officerships as transfers, .39 to .19 respectively. Good students were even more outstanding as leaders than as members; A students averaging .64 officerships each as compared to .26 each for C students. This would indicate either that good grades furnish a preferred status in extracurricular activities or that some correlation exists between ability to make good grades and other abilities such as leadership. It does indicate that any stereotype of the good student as an inevitable "grind" is likely to be erroneous. At first glance it seems of considerable significance that women held .42 officerships as compared to .25 for men. This is considerably negated, however, by the existence on this campus of a considerably larger number of small organizations for women than for men, plus the fact that there are very few women veterans on the campus. Veterans either did not seek offices or were not sought for them, averaging only .21 offices each. As would be expected from their general participation score, those living off-campus were very low, with an average of .15 each, while the married group averaged only .13 officerships per person. For the sample as a whole, the median and the mode were zero; one person in nineteen held two or more officerships. These figures indicate a tendency for offices to cluster about a relatively small proportion of individuals, exemplified in its extreme by one senior-class boy with four separate officerships.

Since students' attitudes and beliefs in regard to the size and efficacy of campus organizations are about as important as the facts in the case, students were asked to estimate the number of organizations available on the campus and whether or not they considered this number adequate. The Graduate Manager's Office officially reported 40 organizations. Student estimates showed real ignorance on the subject, ranging from 3, 4, and 5 to 65, 80, and 100. The modal estimate was 20, the average 21, and the vast majority of students made estimates clustering around 20. Less than one in twenty students made an estimate as high as, or higher than, the actual number; twice that many estimated the number as 10 or less. Whatever else the data show, they do indicate strongly that the vast bulk of students were uninformed on the subject of campus organizations. The persons collaborating on the survey felt that those estimating between 30 and 40 organizations should be considered the "well-

informed" group, since many, particularly on the spur of the moment, would fail to include organizations restricted to the opposite sex and activities for which they were not potential members and with which they would have had no contact. Even with this qualification most students were obviously unaware of the extracurricular program available.

If students consistently underestimated the number of organizations available, it then becomes of interest whether they felt that this estimated number was sufficient to meet their needs. Accordingly, they were asked whether they felt there were too few, enough, or too many organizations on the campus. Three fourths of the students replied there were enough, 10 per cent too many, 15 per cent too few. Within each category of answers, seemingly little logic prevailed. Those who felt there were too many organizations made estimates of from 10 to 100, those who felt there were too few made estimates from 4 to 60; in both groups the modal estimate was 20, next 15, next 10, next 25. This is rather clear evidence that the students' attitudes on the numerical adequacy of campus organizations were almost entirely subjective, since there was no significant relationship between the estimate of number of organizations available and belief in their adequacy or inadequacy.

This feeling of the adequacy or inadequacy of campus organizations was not equal for all categories. Of the groups, those who were married and those who lived off-campus felt most keenly the lack of organizations, while those employed felt more than any other group that there were too many. The significance of the differences in these beliefs is somewhat dimmed by the fact that in every category over half of the group were satisfied with their impression of the present situation.

There was, as one would expect, some division as to the adequacy of organizational membership for the individual. Half of the students believed they belonged to enough organizations, but over 40 per cent did not. This is not at all surprising in view of the fact that almost 40 per cent reported no organizational membership. The subjective nature of this estimate is to be expected and becomes apparent when we find that of those indicating they feel they belong to too few organizations, 19 per cent belonged to two or more, 35 per cent belonged to one, and 46 per cent belonged to none at all. Those who felt they belonged to too many organizations reported membership in two, three, and four in almost equal numbers, with only a small scattering of other answers. It is both interesting and enlightening to know that the A student group, who held nearly twice as many memberships as the average and three times the average officerships, had the highest percentage of those who felt that they

did not belong to enough organizations. Veterans' answers closely approximated the sample average; the employed and the married groups contained the smallest number, one third, who felt they belonged to too few organizations. If this ranking were the result of wide differences, which it was not, it would be of more significance. It is only because the majority of students in all categories believed there were enough campus organizations and that they belonged to enough that it is not especially inconsistent that the married group ranks high in the belief that there were too few organizations and low in the belief that they themselves belonged to too few.

Conclusions. From the administrative point of view the above data present factual evidence to support the belief that a sizable minority of students do want more organizational participation for themselves. Some of them place the blame for this lack on the institutional program; far more accept the responsibility as being their own. The organizational desires of a majority of students, however, are simple in the extreme, since they are usually satisfied with not more than one membership and rarely need more than two or need an officership. A ratio of 35 organizations per 1,000 students should be sufficient to offer a wide variety of memberships, and at the same time it could give every second student a chance to be an officer in some organization sometime during his college career. This survey indicates strongly that such a program would be deemed adequate by a majority of upper-class students.

From the social point of view, the data show that a considerable divergence exists among college students in regard to attitudes toward and participation in extracurricular activities. Their knowledge of available programs is likely to be limited, but both their attitudes and behavior tend to approximate normal curves of distribution somewhat skewed in directions indicating relatively little participation and a desire for more participation in extracurricular activities.

EDUCATION FOR COOPERATION

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● It redounds to the credit of the Rochdale Pioneers of England that soon after the founding of the society in 1844 they voted to set aside a certain percentage of the net returns of their cooperative for educational purposes. Their farsightedness was remarkable in view of their lack of formal education. But they had learned a great deal in the school of hard knocks.

The practically unheard-of idea of reserving a part of the savings of a business organization for educational purposes indicates that the Rochdale Pioneers were aware that they were inaugurating something more important than an economic undertaking. It indicates their sense that they were promulgating a way of life as well as an organization to distribute the necessities of life. In this perception they were shifting the motivating sources of their economic activities. They recognized the necessity of continued education in cooperation and democracy if these types of life are to develop and to control.

This paper is based on an extended study over a number of years of the various published reports from cooperative associations—local, regional, national, not only in the United States but in other countries, particularly in Sweden and England. The analysis that follows is a composite picture, therefore, of a wide range of experiences. It indicates what is actually happening in different countries and what is considered most worth while as tested by actual needs.

The educational principle has been maintained by all cooperatives; if not, the risk of failure has been great. The principle has been developed through the years. Today a cooperative may set aside a percentage, perhaps 5 per cent of net savings, or better, according to many persons who have given the matter consideration, 1 per cent or 2 per cent of the gross sales of a business. The latter procedure is advocated because it guarantees an income for the education division of the cooperative even when net savings shrink. When savings are low and income on that basis is not forthcoming the chances are that the need is all the greater for a dynamic educational program.

A tangible illustration of how cooperative education has changed human attitudes is found in the history of the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooper-

ative Association.¹ Under the arrangements set up in the twenties by the Purchasing Department, the procedures violated the Rochdale principles of cooperation, for control was central and the organization was from the top down. The individualistic farmers naturally felt no personal responsibility for the Purchasing Department, even though it was designed to operate for their benefit. In 1926 a change occurred; the Purchasing Department was discontinued, and the Cooperative Association was organized, composed of farmers who developed their own cooperatives by counties. The farmers were now in charge on a democratic basis of their cooperative purchasing of needed farm supplies. Through the functioning of democratic procedures the attitudes of the farmers changed. Instead of clamoring for "rebates" or of complaining if the Purchasing Department paid limited or no "rebates," the farmers in cooperatives controlled by themselves actually voted to forego cash returns entirely and to have the net savings of their cooperatives turned into the state-wide expansion of their Cooperative Association. This re-education of farmers' attitudes came about in four or five years.

The educational techniques of cooperatives relate first of all to the members of the cooperatives themselves. Not all persons who join are equally well versed in what cooperation means. Each generation of new cooperators needs instruction regarding cooperation. Many of the members at any given time have only an economic concern and miss the importance of democracy in industry. As a result they are only 10 per cent or 20 per cent efficient as cooperative members, and some may actually vote unwittingly to defeat democratic measures.

Moreover, cooperation, like democracy anywhere, is never static and may slip backward. Or the forces opposing it may be scheming to defeat it. They may be using propaganda to mislead the public regarding its democratic nature. As a result of these and other influences, education in cooperative ways of thinking is an inescapable condition of cooperative action in government, business, religion, and elsewhere.

Education regarding cooperatives is needed in order to inform the public regarding the true, democratic nature of cooperatives. When cooperatives are small in size they are not known and hence are not understood. When they become large and enter into free competition with other types of enterprise they are likely to meet with false characterizations, to be misunderstood, and even to be maligned. Hence education of the general public regarding the true democratic nature of cooperation is essential if the ends of justice are to be met.

¹ Paul Turner, *They Did It in Indiana*, New York: The Dryden Press, 1947.

The education of cooperative members has two main and equally important but different objectives. One aim is to keep all the members alive to the meaning of a cooperative as a democratic way of life. It gives instruction in the origins and nature of the principles of cooperation. It reviews the history of cooperatives in many countries and describes the varied experiences of cooperatives, their successes and failures, and the conditions under which these have occurred. It summarizes what cooperatives have learned so that many mistakes may be avoided by persons entering upon cooperative undertakings. It explains the relation of cooperatives to industrial democracy, to peacemaking, and to a constructive social order.

A second aim is to train persons in the principles of cooperative business, in methods of cooperative organization, in techniques of cooperative management. It trains employees in the details of arranging goods, of inventory-taking, of meeting the public. It stresses cooperative business efficiency.

Every member of a cooperative is a cooperative educator. To the extent that he does express the principle of cooperation in his behavior he believes in that principle. To the degree that he talks cooperation judiciously and lives the principle faithfully he represents cooperative education effectively.

Likewise, every cooperative store or agency or service is a cooperative educator. Not only the neatness, the convenience, the distinctive arrangement of the goods in a cooperative store but also the type of salesmanship serves educational purposes. To the extent that store employees and representatives keep the consumer's point of view basic in all their work, they will create a favorable atmosphere for the growth of cooperatives.

It also is important to note that failures of cooperatives have generally if not always been accompanied by a poor or totally inadequate educational program. A cooperative that puts business first and education second is not well founded. If it develops its business and services on a sound cooperative philosophy that is continually presented to and accepted by its public, it can withstand almost any attack or other adversity.

Numerous educational techniques have been tried and found efficacious. No one of these alone is enough, but each will have its place, and if all are developed together they will give to a cooperative life, growth, and unlimited usefulness. Several of these techniques will be briefly described.

1. The membership meeting is a basic educational technique for a cooperative. It may be held quarterly as a means of informing the members concerning the state of their association's business activities. While the

cooperative's management will observe all the rules of the best accounting methods and have all the necessary statistics available, the presentation of the data that are considered vital will be done at a membership meeting through the use of charts, graphs, and other attractive pictorial methods. The essentials, not the details, will be presented briefly, briskly, and interestingly. The details of the business can be given in annual mimeographed or printed statements supported by auditors' reports.

A portion of the membership meeting needs to be assigned to such items as will revive the lagging will-to-cooperation of lukewarm members. Perhaps a fifteen-minute motion picture, a few slides, a pithy address not over twenty minutes in length by an out-of-town cooperator, or a ten-minute report by a member who has visited cooperatives elsewhere will help to make a meeting interesting.

The necessary business that must be transacted at a membership meeting will relate to basic policies (other business will be conducted by the board of directors). The pros and cons of such matters as are to be decided by the members will be presented beforehand in the association's regular bulletin and may well be the subject of consideration at discussion circle meetings that precede the membership meeting. If handled with forethought the business part of a membership meeting can be of great interest and of lasting educational value, but under the direction of an inept chairman or if ill planned it can be deadening.

A membership meeting needs a little spice. Fifteen minutes of community singing at the outset if led by a capable man or woman can do wonders. The meeting may be closed with a half hour of singing games, folk dancing, and the like for all the members who have retained a youthful spirit. Special attention by those in charge will make a membership meeting interesting to members of the various age-groups, with the younger members being given special roles throughout the program. It is important that an air of expectancy regarding each meeting be developed, that an atmosphere of good will be maintained throughout the meeting, and that variation and pleasant surprises be planned.

In large cooperatives the membership easily loses interest as a result of sheer numbers. This problem has been met by the development of district membership meetings. The districts will be numerous enough to enable primary group relationships to function. The districts will be arranged according to the interests and the convenience of the members. The same business reports can be given at all the district meetings and the same questions introduced for voting purposes so that the wish of the entire membership can be ascertained. Each district can elect its own member to

a general board of directors. If this board is unduly large it can choose an executive committee from its own personnel. The district membership meeting can be made an effective educational agency both in spreading cooperative information and in generating enthusiasm for cooperation.

The democratic voting procedure of a cooperative business meeting is an eye opener to some people. They are surprised to have the American way of voting for candidates for office used in a business corporation. It is a lesson in democracy, for owners of shares in a cooperative have one vote per person irrespective of shares owned. It is also a lesson to have no pyramiding of voting through the use of proxies; proxy voting is not allowed anyone who cannot or does not wish to be bothered with voting on election day.

2. The education department of a cooperative is significant because of its unique roles and of its varied procedures. A cooperative has a twofold function: (1) educational and (2) distributing commodities and services. The two types of activities are inseparable.

It is well to consider the meaning of the fact that the highly successful *Kooperativa Förbundet*, the national cooperative of Sweden, began as an educational association and later developed a commodities and services department. If more cooperatives would think first of education in cooperation and second of commodities and services, many of their problems would not arise.

In a small local cooperative the education committee is usually composed of perhaps three members of the board of directors and of other members of the association who are best qualified. They function with a rank equal to the commodities committee. They number at least seven, with one as chairman and each of the others in charge of a subcommittee which is responsible for one of the aspects of the educational procedures that are discussed in the following pages of this report, namely, (a) discussion groups, (b) conferences and institutes, (c) bulletins and other periodicals, (d) films, (e) radio programs, and (f) a cooperative library. All the members are responsible for the education of the general community in cooperation.

A large local cooperative or a regional cooperative has a paid educational director with paid assistants or with provisions for the addition of paid assistants as the association grows. However, the education committee as described in the preceding paragraph continues to function in the local cooperative as a voluntary group, selects the director of education, and determines the policies of the educational staff.

The members of the education committee need to have some special experience and training which makes them enthusiastic and creative in

developing a thoroughly sound educational program for their cooperative. They keep themselves up to date regarding the new educational developments of other cooperatives, and they travel in order to see firsthand what is going on educationally in other wide-awake cooperatives. They bring from far and near, whenever possible, the best leaders in educational techniques to speak to the membership of their own cooperative.

Under the direction of its education division, a cooperative puts its educational program foremost. This need is great if the cooperative is small, in order that it may grow on the basis of sound education techniques and philosophy. The need is greater in some ways if the cooperative is large in order that its organization, methods, and philosophy may continue educationally sound.

3. Nothing can take the place of discussion groups in cooperatives or in any other types of democratic society. In a cooperative they are needed as a means of acquainting the members with the implications of the Rochdale rules of cooperation. They are needed to keep the cooperative way of life basic to all business developments. They are needed to keep the members alert to the nature and importance of sound cooperative business principles. They are needed to enable the members to develop new business procedures within the framework of cooperative principles. The larger a cooperative becomes, the greater are the tendencies to fall away from cooperative and democratic thinking, and hence the greater the role of the discussion groups.

An outstanding type of discussion group is what is called the study-action group. The procedure is to center attention on the problems of the given cooperative one by one, as they arise, as they become serious, or better still as they may be anticipated. The study-action group thrives because it deals with real problems of cooperation that arise right at hand, that are not remote or theoretical. They give all thoughtful members something that they can take hold of and discuss with a view to arriving at a common judgment.

Study-action groups are popular because they lead to activities and to new or at least to remodeled procedures. They give the participants a feeling of accomplishment. They keep members on their toes regarding the growth and development of their own cooperative.

Study-action groups meet once a month or oftener. The local education committee may select the problems of their cooperative which need membership discussion and arrange for enough groups to meet in selected homes scattered evenly with reference to residence, so that all members

who wish may have a conveniently located study-action meeting to attend. The materials for discussion may be selected by the educational committee of the cooperative or by the education director and sent to the secretary of each study-action group. Such materials including questions for discussion may be printed in the local cooperative news bulletin.

The educational division of a regional or district cooperative may invite the educational committees of all local cooperatives to send to it from time to time lists of problems which the local cooperatives are encountering and which they would like to have discussed by other study-action groups. The educational division of the regional cooperative selects the problems common to most of the local cooperatives, arranges them in the form of a monthly discussion schedule, and publishes each month in the regional periodical one topic after another, together with suggested materials in the form of short articles or as lists of readings. The secretary of each local cooperative reports the results of each monthly discussion to the secretary of the educational division of the regional association. A composite statement of the findings of all the local study-action groups is published from time to time in the regional periodical, and in turn is published in all the local news bulletins. Thus, an endless and ever-developing educational procedure may be maintained and developed.

Another excellent educational procedure is made possible in the United States by the Cooperative Correspondence School.² Other countries have similar schools. As a result the educational committee of a local cooperative may organize correspondence study groups. The technique is simple; it calls for no leader. A secretary is needed to arrange for receiving and mailing the lessons. A half-dozen persons who are interested may meet at intervals in the home of one of the members. The group takes up a lesson and works out a joint answer to each question in the lesson received from the Correspondence School. The secretary mails the joint answer to each question in the lesson to the School and receives corrected statements regarding the answers submitted, together with a new lesson. At each meeting of the cooperative correspondence club, the corrected statements are first discussed and then the new lesson and its questions are considered jointly. The club can move at any speed it wishes in its educational exercise.³

² Located in Superior, Wisconsin, with V. S. Alanne as director and founder.

³ The Cooperative Correspondence School has prepared five or more different sets of lessons. These deal with subjects such as administration of cooperatives, cooperative employees in food and general merchandise stores, consumer cooperation in principle and in practice, the employee in cooperative service stations, and the manager and employee in farm supply cooperatives.

The educational committee of a local cooperative may maintain advanced study groups. One type is a book review group. Each member purchases a new book on cooperation and reviews it, with a lively discussion often developing around the points presented. After a season of eight or ten months the books may be donated to a local cooperative's library. Another type deals with one cooperative principle after another and with the problems that result from putting these principles into operation in the local cooperative.

4. Conferences, training courses, and institutes are an essential phase of the educational work of cooperatives. The educational committee of a local cooperative may plan for week-end conferences of one or two days in length for the directors, staff, and committee members. If the local association is small, its educational committee may join in holding such conferences with neighboring local cooperatives, functioning under the direction of a district federation of cooperatives or of a regional organization.

The educational committees of local cooperatives may send selected employees to attend a training course or institute arranged by the regional cooperative. Sometimes the local pays a part or all of the expenses of its members, especially of its employees or possible future employees that enroll in such institutes. These institutes may vary in length from one to six or more weeks, although the longer ones are much more efficient. They deal with business methods, merchandising methods, publicity methods, educational methods. They give those who attend practical contacts and experience with the best procedures used by outstanding cooperatives.

The Rochdale Institute of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. has specialized in providing training programs, not only at its current and former headquarters in Chicago and New York respectively⁴ but also in various regions where there are many cooperatives and where it is convenient for cooperators to gather for an institute program. It sets the pace for widespread cooperative education.

Various colleges and universities have given courses on different aspects of cooperative activities, particularly with reference to agricultural cooperatives. A few opportunities have been offered for majoring in economics with the emphasis on courses dealing with economic and social problems pertinent to cooperatives.⁵

⁴ Its original director was Dr. James P. Warbasse and its present acting director is C. Jack McLanahan.

⁵ Antioch College has had a program for studying cooperative procedures and principles whereby students study for a term and work in a cooperative for a term, thus combining theory and practice in an educationally advantageous way.

5. A publication technique is vital to any cooperative. It may be carried forward as a part of the work of the educational committee or division, with a subcommittee and chairman being especially responsible. It begins with a local news bulletin. If this is mimeographed it needs to be neat and clear cut. A little freehand drawing will add to its attractiveness. Even though it is but a single sheet, care and thought need to be put into the preparing of the copy as well as into the mimeographing or printing job. It needs to be mailed to every member. It may contain important news items about members as well as notices of meetings, of study-action and other discussion group meetings, and of the receipt of new and special goods for the shelves of the store.

It is wise for a local cooperative to subscribe and pay for, in part or in whole, a subscription to the given regional's regular periodical for every member. This type of periodical will give the members a wide vision of the cooperative movement. It will come regularly into their homes and furnish a breadth of outlook that most cooperators would not otherwise develop.

It is also a good investment for a local cooperative to subscribe for the national cooperative publication—for all its employees.⁶ Again, the educational value will be continuously stimulating. Other members may well subscribe to such a publication in order that the cooperative movement may be seen in some of its national aspects. In the cooperative library and periodical department (to be mentioned presently) a publication such as the *International Review of Cooperation* is an indispensable document, for it presents the cooperative movement in its world-wide parish.

6. The cooperative film is an invaluable educational agency. The early films of this kind were not very well planned and aroused no great interest. In recent years, however, a number of films—some in color, some with sound, some of length and unusually well executed—have been made. They reveal activities of various types of cooperatives in vivid and interesting ways. Nothing peps up a membership meeting more than a fifteen-minute reel of live cooperative pictures. The high interest value suggests an equally high educational value.⁷

A movie of cooperative activities can be used as a basis for a lively discussion. A study-action group can use a series of movies as subjects for

⁶ In the United States the periodical is called *Co-op*.

⁷ The Cooperative League of the U.S.A. can furnish a full list of available films and the means of obtaining them. Noteworthy examples are: "Up from the Earth," depicting the petroleum oil wells, refineries, and service stations of the Consumers Cooperative Association of Kansas City; "A Trip to Cooperative Europe"; "The Power of Neighbors," the story of the Indiana cooperatives; "Consumers Serve Themselves," showing cooperatives in action in the Eastern Cooperatives' territory.

several discussions. When movies are made for discussion purposes and are accompanied by appropriate discussion materials, their popularity for educational purposes will be multiplied. Cooperatives can make very effective use of all audio-visual aids.

7. Radio programs featuring cooperative news items, conversations on cooperative topics, forums and panels about cooperative problems are important educational techniques that are being developed by regional cooperatives and by subsidiary broadcasting corporations that are sponsored by a regional cooperative. The uses to which the radio may be put in the service of cooperatives are scarcely dreamed of as yet.

The radio and television may be utilized in changing the philosophy of life of a people. With programs breathing a cooperative philosophy and cooperative techniques, a new day of democratic and peacemaking motivations may be anticipated.

8. Cooperative libraries may be sponsored by almost any local cooperative. Such a library may be developed under the aegis of the educational committee of any local cooperative. It may include the latest books and pamphlets on cooperatives, which may be sold in the same way that other commodities on the shelves are sold.

Some cooperatives maintain rental libraries of cooperative books. New additions need to be featured in the cooperative's news bulletin. Special hours may be set aside for rental books, with different members of the educational committee in charge and rendering special volunteer service not only in distributing rental books but in answering various questions about the cooperative way of life.

Regional cooperatives may develop extensive libraries of cooperative books, of books on economics, political science, and sociology, of periodicals published by cooperatives. Over a period of time a regional cooperative may build up a large and valuable library that will be used not only by members of cooperative associations but also by the general public, by college and high school students, and by others interested in human betterment and social progress.

In summarizing cooperative education a suggestion may be taken from two English writers,⁸ who speak of (1) education by cooperation, (2) education for cooperation, and (3) the general education of cooperators. The first type is an unconscious process and yet is fundamental. It is learning cooperation by doing cooperation. It teaches self-reliance; fosters

⁸ Lionel Smith-Gordon and Cruse O'Brien, *Cooperation in Many Lands* (Manchester, England: Cooperative Union, Ltd., 1919), p. 235 ff.

a spirit of mutual confidence; draws out the business and administrative capacity which is latent in many persons; teaches the advantages of honest dealing, cash trading, and fair distribution of wealth; and gives a true appreciation of the responsibilities of citizenship. The second type is technical and gives instruction in cooperative business methods, in publishing cooperative literature, in giving lectures on cooperation, and in conducting classes in cooperative methods, history, and theory. The third type is best illustrated by the people's high schools of Denmark, which constitute a foundation stone of real democracy. Given such a foundation, "the impulse to cooperation is almost automatic."⁹

Cooperative education is grounded in the fundamental tendencies of each human being first to work with others for his own survival and advancement, and second to work with others for the mutual development of all concerned. According to the biologist, struggle would exhaust all living beings were it not for the increasing strength of cooperation.¹⁰

When education is utilized to arouse the basic cooperative tendencies in human nature and to develop and spread cooperative ways of doing and of living, then it will enter upon its true role of peacemaking. Through its various expressions it will enable people to build one world of understanding. Through its emphasis upon individual liberty and personal responsibility people will avoid regimentation and at the same time learn to work together for each other instead of against each other.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 237, 245.

¹⁰ Alfred E. Emerson, *Science*, 155:38, 1942.

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

Mills College

Miss Vesta M. Sonne, formerly adviser and supervisor, group work students, School of Applied Social Science, Western Reserve University, has accepted a position as instructor. Dr. Glenn E. Hoover has returned to the Department after eighteen months of service with the American Military Government in Berlin, Germany.

University of Oregon

The department has been increased to five staff members, with the inclusion of Mr. Walter Martin from the University of Washington. During the summer Mr. Jack Parsons conducted the civil service examinations for probation officers and intake officers for the Court of Domestic Relations in Portland. He was also editor of an annual report for the Boys and Girls Aid Society of Oregon.

Oregon State College

Professor Robert H. Dann has returned to the campus after a year of sabbatical leave. He spent last year, with his wife and daughter, in New Zealand and Australia, where he represented the British Society of Friends and the American Society of Friends. Dr. H. H. Plambeck, assistant professor of sociology, was in charge of a transient labor camp at Coburg, Oregon, during the summer of 1947. Dr. Oscar F. Hoffman joins the staff as an associate professor of sociology. He received his master of arts degree from the University of Wisconsin and his doctor of philosophy degree from the University of North Carolina. He formerly taught at Elmhurst College, Elmhurst, Illinois.

Pomona College

Dr. William Kirk, emeritus professor of sociology, is giving a course in the Claremont Graduate School on Native Cultures of the Pacific World. During the summer he taught at Humboldt State College. Mr. Alvin H. Scaff joins the staff as an instructor. He is a doctoral candidate at the University of Texas and taught for some time in the Philippines.

University of Redlands

Dr. Glen E. Carlson, professor of sociology, is on leave of absence during the first semester. He plans to make some investigations of community organizations and also of cooperatives in Southern California. Dr. Abbott P. Herman, associate professor of sociology, is taking part of

Dr. Carlson's classes. Ruth D. Tuck, assistant professor of sociology and author of *Not with the Fist*, has been appointed on a part-time basis. She will teach courses in social work and anthropology in addition to serving as a consultant in the San Diego City Schools on their project in intercultural education.

University of Southern California

The Department of Sociology is developing a sociological research laboratory, which is to be housed in Old College. The laboratory is to be under the direction of Dr. Harvey J. Locke. It is planned, as equipment becomes available, to have machines for statistical computation, drawing boards for the construction of ecological maps and the recording of data on schedules, and a special room for interviewing subjects. Department members will use the room for individual research projects and the training of students in research methods.

Dr. Erle Fiske Young returns to the campus for the fall semester to teach courses in rural sociology, ecology, and social security. With the addition of Dr. Edward C. McDonagh, formerly assistant professor of sociology at the University of Oklahoma, the Department of Sociology has been increased to seven full-time and five part-time faculty members. He is teaching courses on social problems, race relations, and public opinion.

SOCIAL THEORY

ADMINISTRATIVE BEHAVIOR. BY HERBERT A. SIMON. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, pp. xv+259.

Here is an addition to the science of administration, an effort to provide "adequate linguistic and conceptual tools" by means of which the operation and effectiveness of an administrative organization can be scientifically analyzed. Instead of approaching the analysis of organization in its horizontal aspect, the division of work, Mr. Simon contends that decision-making is the heart of the administrative process as it operates vertically throughout the organization. He believes that a theory of administration must be concerned with the processes of decision as well as with the processes of action. In fact, he asserts that the so-called principles of administration can be applied only as the conditions underlying their applicability are studied and described, and that this can best be done by analyzing the administrative process in terms of decisions.

The appropriateness of decisions for specified goals thus becomes the central concern of administrative theory. Since human rationality (defined as "the selection of preferred behavior alternatives in terms of some

system of values whereby the consequences of behavior can be evaluated") is conceded to be limited, the problem of administration is to understand and describe the behavior of organized groups, and on this basis to analyze activity and develop propositions as to how men may behave if they wish their efforts to achieve maximum results in terms of objectives of organization with the means at hand. The former he calls the "sociology of administration" and the latter the "practical science of administration."

Mr. Simon deals with both aspects of administration in this book. The chapters relating to the sociology of administration are titled "Rationality in Administration," "The Equilibrium of Administration," "Communication," and "Loyalties and Organizational Identification." The science of administration is presented in chapters entitled "Fact and Value in Decision Making," "The Criterion of Efficiency," and "The Anatomy of Administration."

This is a technical treatise, and the conclusions are necessarily abstract. In spite of this, it is richly illustrated by concrete examples drawn from many fields of administrative experience in commercial as well as non-commercial organizations. Mr. Chester I. Barnard, to whom Mr. Simon acknowledges indebtedness for influence upon his ideas, writes the foreword.

ARLIEN JOHNSON

SAY IT WITH FIGURES. BY HANS ZEISEL. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, pp. 250.

For research workers who desire to work with figures, Dr. Zeisel has written an extremely handy if not necessary reference book. The book is divided into three parts. The first section deals with the problems of classification. Dr. Zeisel points out some of the common errors of classification and methods of arriving at a meaningful classification. The second part deals with the problems of tabulation and the arriving at a meaningful numerical summary, the third with the problem of the interpretation of the statistics which have been gathered.

The book's greatest virtue lies in the fact that Dr. Zeisel has attempted to present a practical rather than a theoretical discussion of the problems of statistics. In every section there are simple illustrations which reinforce the material presented in the text. A good background in statistics would be helpful to those who want to understand fully the material presented by Dr. Zeisel, but the book is simple enough to prove very useful to those who have had little or no training in statistics.

JAMES S. ROBERTS

SOCIETY, CULTURE, AND PERSONALITY: A System of General Sociology. BY PITIRIM A. SOROKIN. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, p. xiv+742.

Harvard's critically disposed sociologist Sorokin now offers his own conception of what an organized, integrated system of general sociology should include. In a sense, it is both a synthesis and a reconstruction of the sociological thought and criticism of all that has been published previously under his name. If the volume has a theme for sociology it is this: "There is no personality as a socius, bearer, creator, and user of meanings, values, norms without a corresponding culture and society . . . there is no superorganic society without interacting personalities and a culture; and there is no living culture without interacting personalities and a society." An extensive survey of the interaction between personality, culture, and society permits author Sorokin to philosophize upon the drama of human life "with its tragic and comical roles, its joys and sorrows, its integrity and disintegration."

Sorokin's reason for presentation of his system: it is time for "rebuilding the framework of sociology as a systematic science" since the current need is "not so much a further collection of facts as assimilating the existing data, presenting them in a sound, logical order." His scheme for organization might be called a dramatic rehearsal in seven graphic acts: (1) object, method, and development of sociology; (2) structural sociology; (3) structure of the social universe; (4) social differentiation and stratification; (5) structure of the cultural and personality aspects of the superorganic universe; (6) dynamics of the recurrent social processes; and (7) the dynamics of cultural processes.

Sharply delineated and logical in its organization, the Sorokin system is founded upon the idea that sociology is a generalizing science of socio-cultural phenomena "possessing its own set of referential principles, its own meaningful causal method, and its own special task among the other social and humanistic disciplines." Drawing upon the "existing body of empirical evidence: experimental, semi-experimental, statistical, historical, and clinical, and on other observational data," an analysis is made of the basic problems followed by a critical survey of the theories presented. More challenging is the pontifical investigation into the meaning of truth, cognition, knowledge, law, ethics, and types of personality. Such an attempt will at once subject it to a comparison with Toynbee's *Study of History*. Present again are Sorokin's types of culture systems with their corresponding emergences of personality types, ideational, sensate, idealistic, and eclectic. On the decline of culture systems, Sorokin reports:

"Viewed ontologically, the decline of most culture systems and super-systems is due largely to the inadequacy of their intrinsic values—their deviation from genuine reality—or to the exhaustion of their creative functions."

The book offers some choice materials for debate. Many will disagree with some of the interpretations which lead Sorokin to formulate such theories as the life span, death, and resurrection of cultural systems, and the cycles and rhythms in the dynamics of personality. Such a statement, as for instance, "a mere enumeration of physical or purely psychological characteristics (his weight, height, emotional traits) does not define his position at all," is of doubtful validity when one considers that these features meet with definite reactions on the part of persons in the group and may affect status rating considerably. It is clear that Sorokin has taken a keen and lively interest in the task of constructing a system of sociology. The volume is packed with enough materials for several seminar investigations.

M.J.V.

SOME TASKS FOR EDUCATION. BY SIR RICHARD LIVINGSTON. Oxford University Press, 1946, pp. 98.

The one-time president of the Hellenic Society (England), of the Classical Association, member of the Prime Minister's Committee on Classics, editor of the *Classical Review*, and author of "A Defense of Classical Education" would hardly be expected to come out with a forward-looking, pragmatic treatment of education's tasks. Nevertheless, it is somewhat of a shock to read in the chapter, "Education for the Modern World," that "Any good education must be narrow . . . Certain subjects—they cannot be more and should hardly be less than two—must be studied so thoroughly that the pupil gets some idea of what knowledge is. . . . Subjects should bring the pupil face to face with something great. . . . Now the old classical education satisfied these two principles." Further, in the chapter entitled "Education and the Training of Character," Sir Richard states, "There is nothing in our modern educational theory comparable to Plato's *Republic*—still the greatest of all books on education," and "The British boarding school [is] hitherto the finest factory of citizenship in existence."

However, in fairness to Sir Richard it must be said that he is aware of the fundamental problems of our times—to de-emphasize materialism and to restore the faith of men in each other. Many will agree with him on the problem, but will disagree with his partial solutions. The book stimulates thought on values.

H. H. SEMANS

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF EGO-INVOLVEMENTS. BY MUZAFER SHERIF
AND HADLEY CANTRIL. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1947, pp.
viii+525.

A versatile book, this is a synthesis of findings, a portraiture of methodology, and a critique of materials. Called *The Psychology of Ego-Involvements*, it might as well have been called *A Social Psychology of Ego Attitudes*. Its introductory chapter can stand by itself as a piece of required reading for every student both of psychology and social psychology. Modest in their assertion, the authors do not claim to have written the final word but only a "sketch in bold relief" of the psychology of ego-involvements. Their materials have been synthesized from studies in the experimental laboratory, investigations of everyday life behavior, public opinion surveys, observational studies of children and adolescents, and field material of anthropologists and ethnologists. With reference to scientific methodology, they approve William James' observation that "psychology is scientific to the extent that it uses methods which make verification possible, irrespective of the theories, biases, or prejudices of the experimenter," and that "scientific objectivity derives from its methods and not from the aloofness of its observers." They criticize those psychologists who, just beginning to face group problems as psychological problems, "tend to ignore the vast wealth of sociological data which lend themselves to psychological formulations," and "who have not often bothered to go out of their own little worlds and examine the wealth of material already collected by sociologists." To make good their claim, the authors proceed to show how it can be done! It is only fair to state that they also turn to the sociologists who "have coined their own 'psychologies' consistent with the ideas of 'human nature' to which their particular ideologies lead them."

Sociologists and social psychologists will be interested specifically by the discussions of attitudes in the second and third chapters, and by the chapters which deal with ego-involvements and identifications in groups and concrete social situations. In the latter chapters, sociological findings and data are psychologically translated and formulated. The materials selected have been well chosen to support the central thesis, namely, that ego problems are matters of everyday human relationships and that the ego is shaped by the image of its own social milieu. The "I-me-mine" experiences which go to make up the ego attitudes, or those "that define and qualify an individual's relative standing to other persons or to institutions in some more or less lasting way," are indeed ultrasignificant for a

comprehension of personality. Throughout, there is of necessity an excellent running account of the significance of social values and social status in the problem of ego-involvement. Not to be neglected is the chapter in which respect is paid to those novelists and playwrights who have been aware in their works of the fact that "many a person's interests and desires are ego-involved," and that "they reveal in dramatic proportion properties of the ego that are similar in their characteristics to those . . . found in controlled investigations." The book concludes with an account of the Freudian contributions to social psychology and with the portions of the theory which should be rejected.

M.J.V.

MEASUREMENT OF CONSUMER INTEREST. Edited by C. W. CHURCHMAN, R. L. ACKOFF, and M. WAX. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1947, pp. vi+214.

Three members of the department of philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania called together the conference which is reported in this volume. Their aim was that of coordinating research on the measurement of consumer interest, which is a problem "vital to our national welfare." In their introduction they define the new role of philosophy as "a critique of experimental techniques," as analyzing the most general conditions under which a procedure is said to be experimental, under which a process is said to be under experimental control, under which a question is said to have meaning. More specifically, philosophy is interested in general methodology, that is, in the criteria of adequacy of an experiment, in the criteria of efficiency in experimental research, in the meanings of the basic concepts of science, in the role of formal theory.

Instead of attacking the aforementioned problems directly, the book contains a group of related but uncorrelated papers. Many of them are exceedingly important, technical, and vital to research, such as "The Prediction of Choice," by L. L. Thurstone; "Exaggerated Responses in Polling," by A. M. Crossley; "Some Criteria for Judging the Quality of Surveys," by W. E. Deming; "The Consumer and His Interests," by C. W. Churchman; "The Measurement of Employee Attitudes," by M. S. Viteles. The editors would have done well to add a concluding chapter in which they integrated the findings given in the more important papers, particularly in relation to the philosophical problems which they set forth so well in the introduction. Important recognition is made of the need in consumer research of cooperative study on the part of "engineers, physicists, chemists, psychologists, mathematicians, statisticians" and perhaps economists, sociologists, and even philosophers, particularly those who are interested in the philosophy of science.

E.S.B.

INTERNATIONAL CARTELS. BY ERVIN HEXNER. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946, pp. xiv+555.

This book, now in its second printing, is no doubt the most complete presentation of the theories, principles, and problems of international cartels. It is especially useful for its discussion of concepts, with sufficient attention to both historical and contemporary usage. In his discussion of the restrictive policies of cartels, their structural forms, and the trend in their policies, the author points out how important international cartels are in world reconstruction. Intergovernmental commodity agreements, government trade restrictions, and other problems of economic control are examined as related to the cartel pattern. This first part of the book, which is expository, is well balanced, logical in arrangement, the result of thorough scholarship. The second part of the book (pp. 179-529) includes many representative case studies and appendices. The work as a whole is therefore a valuable source book and handbook. J.E.N.

MATERIALIEN ZUR SOZIOLOGIE DER FAMILIE. BY RENE KOENIG. Bern (Switzerland): A. Francke, A. G., 1946, pp. 179.

The book represents a collection of five papers on family behavior: (1) "Necessity of a sociology of the family"; (2) "Two concepts of disintegration and disorganization"; (3) "Definition of the family"; (4) "Trends of family in Soviet Russia"; and (5) "Rational family policy in a democratic country."

The sociology of the family involves a scientific understanding of the family in our complex society on the basis of objective study. This is difficult because of the reformistic interests of people of "good will," and because the sociology of the family deals with intimate interrelationships between family members. The author analyzes the loss of family functions and activities which previously gave status to family members.

Disintegration refers to breakup of the family in relation to the total societal processes, whereas disorganization is the breakup of the structure of the family itself. The author believes that the reduction in the size of the family will continue and will reduce the disintegrating and disorganizing forces in that it allows a more intimate relationship between family members.

The author defines the family as an association of intimate feelings, cooperation, and mutual aid, whereby the relations of family members have the character of a primary group.

Koenig holds that the objective scientific analysis of the Russian family experiment would yield much useful data for sociology. The reorganization of the Russian family began in the latter part of the eighteenth century, grew in impetus during the nineteenth century, and continued under the present experiment. The fact that people chose of their own free will the type of "family grouping," even though they were given the opportunity for voluntary "sexual matching," is given as an example of the fundamental importance of the family group.

The last paper represents a discussion of Alva Myrdahl's book: *Nation and Family—The Swedish Experiment in Democratic and Population Policy*.
H.J.L.

PHILOSOPHY AND THE SOCIAL ORDER. BY GEORGE R. GEIGER. Cambridge, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947, pp. 407.

Dr. Geiger has written an excellent reply to the almost universal question of the beginning philosophy student. This question is, "Why is it, if philosophy is as important as the instructor says it is, that it never seems to have anything to do with us?" This book has a point of view—instrumentalism and humanism. It presents in Part I the function of philosophy, its vocabulary, and chapters on "Philosophy, Nature, and Science; Philosophy, Human Nature and Values; and Reflective Thinking." Part II indicates how philosophy may contribute to the solution of ". . . the great unanswered questions that today almost shriek for attention. . . war and peace and revolution; a depressed ethics and a fumbling education; political, economic, and social reconstruction."

The failure of man to answer these questions may well be the fatal indictment of human intelligence. Up to the dropping of the first atomic bomb such statements seemed like mere rhetoric. But that day may have made modern man, with his provincial thinking, obsolete; it did not make obsolete the paralyzing gap man has dug between technology and morals.

Philosophy and the Social Order is an attempt to fulfill the fundamental task of philosophy which its author says is "that of criticism, the ruthless investigation of man's basic beliefs and postulates." Philosophy must investigate the broad assumptions which underlie the values that determine men's lives, and the social systems that determine those values.

While the book stresses philosophy rather than social problems, its keen application of philosophy to those problems is a real contribution which brings philosophy out of the ivory tower to make it serve mankind in the era of decision.

H. H. SEMANS

THE CHALLENGE OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS. BY SUMNER H. SLICHTER. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1947, pp. vii+196.

Sumner H. Slichter, one of the leading economists in the United States, here turns his spotlight on a field review of the relationships existing between trade unions, management, and the public. What he finds there is of course colored with his lighting of the scene. Unions are now "seats of great power—of the greatest private economic power in the community." "Employers in dealing with unions may be regarded as the bargaining representatives of the consumers." Is either of these statements literally true? What about the private economic power of a great corporation like U. S. Steel? And are employers totally biased in favor of the consumer and unmindful of profits? Some paradoxical thinking also creeps in, i.e., "Unions have tremendous power," but "there is strong rivalry between unions"; and "the trade union movement is characterized by strong particularism and by a lack of organization which represents labor as a whole," while "each union . . . is concerned with the conditions of its own members rather than with the conditions of labor as a whole."

Aside from this, the review of the field of industrial relations is generally excellent. The analysis of six groups of problems created by the rise of unions is well stated, the argument that collective bargaining must be an appeal to facts and to reason and not to mere strength is sound, and the setting forth of the conditions which a good collective bargaining agreement should embrace is constructive. Presented also are ten commandments for management, and five for unions, to be observed in their dealings with each other. The author believes that with good prevision unions can make a major contribution toward building a greater civilization in the United States.

M.J.V.

JOURNEY TO UNDERSTANDING. BY PERCY REDFERN. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1946, pp. 219.

This remarkable document is more than an ordinary autobiography; it is a mental autobiography, a report of the struggles of the human spirit to answer the question: What is the purpose of living? It is a life history pointed in the direction of one quest, namely, what am I living for? Another noteworthy characteristic of the book is the distinctive literary style of the author. Sometimes this runs into philosophical interpretations of life which will be more meaningful to some readers than to others, but which have far-reaching and subtle implications regarding the mystery of life itself.

The author has written more than half a dozen important books on consumer cooperation. In each one he has made a real contribution to an analysis of the cooperative movement. In this book he fits his interest in cooperation into the total picture of a life which was seemingly unperturbed on the surface, but which on the inside was full of dramatic developments, transitions, and turmoil. Some of these inner conflicts are made objective in this document. They reveal deep intellectual reflection and arrive at the general conclusion that the purpose of life is to live for others, to love widely, to help build a better world, to identify one's self with the highest good that one can find and define.

Redfern entered cooperative employment "not only to live but to live less unsocially," and to live for workers by hand and brain. He has reached far-reaching conclusions, such as these: "Under any free economy, industry begins and ends with consumers' wants," or "Slighted by socialists, plotted against by capitalism, undermined by the state, consumer cooperation produced a form of economic distribution that is the fairest that any economy has yet seen." It is an economy that is "the most workable compromise between individualism and socialism that British genius has yet contrived."

The role of the teachings of Tolstoy in the thought-life of Redfern deserves a whole review in itself. But this point is only one of several others also significant that space does not allow even a word of mention. "For life is in living and in the free fellowship of the living." E.S.B.

PSYCHOLOGY IN LIVING. BY WENDELL WHITE. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, pp. xix+393.

Dr. White of the University of Minnesota has done a splendid job in revising his popular text on applied psychology. He considers man's basic needs in terms of a sense of personal worth, an interesting life, love, activity, physical well-being, a livelihood, and a sense of security. Some twenty-four chapters are given over to a careful analysis of the ways in which a person may seek and satisfy these important needs. Perhaps the outstanding chapters deal with the operation of direct and indirect suggestion. His examples of indirect suggestion are numerous and well chosen. Some critics may fear, however, that the suggestions on how to control other people may imply a Machiavellian handbook for unscrupulous men in society. Perhaps there is a real need for a work setting forth the art of recognizing and evaluating planned suggestion. E.C.MCD.

STUDIES OF THE "FREE" ART EXPRESSION OF BEHAVIOR PROBLEM CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS AS A MEANS OF DIAGNOSIS AND THERAPY. BY MARGARET NAUMBURG. New York: Nervous and Mental Disease Monographs, Coolidge Foundation, 1947, pp. xl + 225.

This monograph consists of six studies previously reported in psychiatric journals which were developed in connection with a project at the New York State Psychiatric Institute and Hospital. The aim of the project was to ascertain whether the spontaneous art expressions of disturbed children and adolescents might be useful in aiding psychiatric diagnosis and therapy.

In each of the six studies the author includes material from the clinical history of the child, describes fully her own approach to the use of art material with the particular child, and reports in detail conversations with the child concerning his activity and the meaning of his expressions to himself. She also discusses the child's use of color and form and presents nearly a hundred of the drawings and paintings produced by these six children.

The book will be of great interest to persons concerned with the treatment of behavior problem children. The author's knowledge of the child's unconscious language, her clear and detailed exposition of the use of projective techniques, and the wealth of child material here available make it an outstanding contribution. Teachers and social workers dealing with normal children will also find in these studies much that is illuminating concerning the phantasy life of children. MARIAN B. NICHOLSON

SURVEY OF LABOR ECONOMICS. BY FLORENCE PETERSON. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, pp. xix + 843.

Economist Florence Peterson of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics presents here a comprehensive picture of her conception of labor economics. Over her desk in the Bureau must have passed every important fact about labor during the past decade and what she records bears not only the stamp of authenticity but testifies to excellent selectivity. Labor is viewed by her as a natural resource, as a commodity, as a productive machine, and as a human element. Discussion of these has been organized under four headings: (1) Employment and Unemployment; (2) Wages and Hours; (3) Labor Unions and Labor-Management Relations; and (4) Social Security. Those who look for factual materials will not be disappointed, for the book is filled with figures, tables, and supporting materials, "tools for action and thought," declares the author. To sup-

plement the statistical arrays, a generous amount of the theoretical finds itself woven into the text—theories dealing with population, unemployment, and wages. Does the reader want to know what happened in the legislative field up to 1946; what workers' attitudes toward incentive systems are; what the employer-efforts for the alleviation of unemployment have been; what the genesis of social security has been? He will find the answers here. A sound and healthy attitude for the public interest enables author Peterson to survey the field of labor relations without revealed prejudice. Thus she can say: "There are potential pitfalls in union-management cooperation as well as possibilities for constructive accomplishments . . . if, to promote the success of the enterprise, this cooperation extends into controlling competition, fixing prices, or retarding innovation, the result can be detrimental to the public interest. . ."

M.J.V.

SOME ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF POSTWAR INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS. A Symposium. AUSTIN: The University of Texas Press, 1946, pp. 117.

This document is composed of nine papers dealing with inter-American relations, chiefly from the standpoint of economic resources, technological developments, population trends, industrialization. In developing his "functional theory of resources" in the first paper, Professor E. W. Zimmerman points out that natural resources do not acquire value until they become "natural-culture resources." He makes a number of interesting observations: for example, he contends that the productivity of man does not depend solely on individual vigor, skill, and wisdom, but that "it is contingent on orderly group life, on social and political conditions based on justice and human decency. Whatever promotes these conditions promotes the creation of resources."

MAX WEBER: THE THEORY OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION. Translated by A. M. HENDERSON and TALCOTT PARSONS. Introduction by TALCOTT PARSONS. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. x+436.

The translators have done American sociology a good turn in making available for general use these materials from the extensive writings of Max Weber. This volume is an excellent complement to the one recently prepared by Gerth and Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*.

Dr. Parsons has introduced the translated materials with five chapters on the life and work of Weber, Weber's methodology of social science,

and his ideas on economic sociology, the institutionalization of authority, and the modern Western institutional system. Weber's emphasis on systematic conceptualization, on typology, on the role of authority, and on charisma is made evident. Behind and essential to any sociological analysis are various fundamental ideas that Weber stressed, such as his types of social action and how the choice of means in action is oriented (1) to a single absolute value, (2) to a plurality of values, (3) to affectual tendencies, or (4) to traditional bases of action.

The translated materials are presented under such broad headings as the fundamental concepts of sociology, sociological categories of economic action, the types of authority, social stratification and class structure. Under the specific sections of Weber's writings that are translated the following topics have special significance: the concept of social relationship, the concept of conflict, representation and responsibility, market economies and planned economies, social aspects of the division of labor, motives of economic activity, the significance of acquisition classes. There is space here to refer to only one more point in Weber's thinking, namely, his concept of meaning and its place as an aspect of the methodological foundations of sociology. Weber distinguishes between action which has a clear-cut subjective meaning and action which is "merely reactive behavior," and then indicates how a great deal of "sociologically relevant behavior, especially purely traditional behavior, is marginal between the two."

E.S.B.

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY. BY MEYER F. NIMKOFF. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947, pp. xx+766.

This is a complete revision of the 1934 volume, yet some of the features of the first edition are retained. After a consideration of the organization and evolution of the family, giving the backgrounds of the present-day family, the author discusses in detail the modern American family in its cultural setting, marriage and personality, and the relation of social change to the family. Those who believe that the students in an introductory course on family life should have a thorough grounding in the historic development of the family as a social institution before undertaking an analysis of the problems of the modern family will find this text admirably suited. One may criticize the book for the relatively small amount of space devoted to family disorganization and the problems of family rehabilitation. But every chapter is replete with concrete material, which is systematically organized and amply illustrated by means of 121 figures, 18 plates of appropriate pictures, and 34 tables. Besides, each chapter has questions for discussion and topics for reports, and selected annotated references for further readings.

M.H.N.

INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY. BY JOSEPH TIFFIN. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1947, pp. xxi+553.

The second edition of Dr. Tiffin's *Industrial Psychology* is marked by the addition of two new chapters, one on the interview and related employment methods, the other on wages and job evaluation. The revision of the text has brought about the inclusion of some new materials, made available from the research work done during the five years since the first edition appeared. Dr. Tiffin's thesis, that the "main difference between men and machines is that the productivity of a man is determined very largely by the way he feels about his job and the other employees with whom he works, and by his attitudes toward the company that employs him," furnishes the clue to the spirit in which the text has been prepared. In its new and improved form, the book is one of the best in its field.

M.J.V.

SOCIAL WELFARE

UNTO THE LEAST OF THESE: Social Services for Children. BY EMMA OCTAVIA LUNDBERG. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1947, pp. xl+424.

Since the first White House Conference of 1909 Miss Lundberg has been associated with movements for the social welfare of children: she was the first head of the Social Service Division of the Children's Bureau, then consultant for the Child Welfare League of America, and later returned to the Children's Bureau. In this book she traces the development of child welfare in the United States from the colonial period to the present, describes the legal and administrative structures under which programs operate, and discusses changes which will be necessary in the existing network of services if we are "to give to every child his fair chance in the world." Federal, state, and local public services to children are discussed at length and services under private auspices more briefly. The development of child welfare is illuminated by a series of sketches of noteworthy individuals, many of them known to the author.

Since the administration of many of the services to children here discussed falls within the field of social work, one regrets that so little attention is paid to modern professional social work education and skill. The reading list does not include much of the more recent and more important material concerning foster-home and institutional care, day care, and juvenile delinquency.

MARIAN B. NICHOLSON

THEY DID IT IN INDIANA. *The Story of the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperatives.* BY PAUL TURNER. New York: The Dryden Press, 1947, pp. xix+159.

The origin and development of consumer cooperation among the farmers of Indiana on the basis of the Rochdale principles is told in this book in carefully stated details and yet with due attention to the far-reaching changes in attitudes involved. The transition in attitudes so individualistic that one farmer was dubious about working with other farmers whom he did not personally know to attitudes of joining in a state-wide movement with many national and some international complications is the underlying thesis of this book. The obstacles are not for a moment minimized but are made to stand out clearly.

Consumer cooperation among farmers in Indiana began with the failure of the purchasing department of a farmer organization in that state. The failure was due in part to the fact that an attempt was made to organize the purchasing department in question from the top down. As a result, the farmers did not develop a personal interest and did not feel a responsibility for its growth. The change to a structure which began with the farmers themselves made it necessary to re-educate many of the farmers to assume responsibility for that which was their own, that is, made it necessary to develop in them a sense of democratic responsibility for a type of organization which involved their own welfare and which some of them lacked the democratic vision to appreciate.

The achievements of this large-scale cooperative organization of farmers are accounted for in terms of (1) the soundness of the Rochdale principles, (2) the foresight, vision, courage, and democratic leadership of the general manager (I. H. Hull), who together with able associates served during all the developmental years, and (3) the recognition by the farmers themselves of the need to work together as consumers.

E.S.B.

MARRIAGE IS ON TRIAL. BY JUDGE JOHN A. SHARBARO. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, pp. 128.

This book represents the opinions and experiences of a judge who has dealt with many cases of "marriage on trial." It is divided into four parts, dealing with "an ounce of caution," "a pound of cure," "marriage and the future," and "if you must get a divorce." Divorce is not the remedy for family difficulties. The judge advocates some efficient remedies for strained family situations. He discusses various aspects, from sexual adjustment to troublesome in-laws, from infidelity to budgeting.

M.H.N.

FULL EMPLOYMENT AND FREE ENTERPRISE. By JOHN H. G. PIERSON. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1947, pp. vii+183.

This book consists of articles or addresses presented at various times by the author on the common theme that full employment can be maintained without inflation. The suggestion is made that the government should underwrite not only employment but also the total consumer market and should support consumer income so that the need of public works can be reduced to a minimum. Private monopolies must be regulated to safeguard general welfare, and foreign trade must be viewed from the same standpoint. A fair deal for every citizen includes a wise enlargement of our social insurance system. It requires the maintaining of wage rates, collective bargaining, and the right to strike.

The author says we have never had a program capable of assuring full employment, but full employment does not necessarily preclude free competitive enterprise. To make full employment workable two things are necessary: removal of uncertainty as to the meaning of full employment and a policy such that possible government action will make the guarantee of full employment harmonize with other traditional values of our economy.

G.B.M.

DOCTORS OF TODAY AND TOMORROW. By MICHAEL M. SHADID. Chicago: The Cooperative League of the U.S.A., 1947, pp. 267.

Part I, eight chapters, reviews the questionable procedures that have crept into the practice of medicine and gives many concrete examples. It discusses such topics as medical quackery, the neglect of prevention, commercialism, abuses connected with hospitals, and the smoke screen of ethics.

Part II treats in seven chapters "medicine tomorrow." The author takes a definite stand against state medicine because of the cold-blooded effects of political control and because regimentation "will not serve the best interests either of the profession or the people." He is favorable to health insurance in that it covers the costs of illness to the people, but does not find it a full answer to the problems of illness in that it does not mean group practice, does not decrease the costs of medicine, will not prevent unscrupulous practitioners from raiding the insurance fund, and "maintains the profit motive in a noble profession."

The author, who is the most outstanding head of a cooperative hospital in the United States, definitely favors cooperative medicine after twenty years of experience with it. Four strong points in cooperative health organizations are group medical practice, periodic payment, preventive

medicine, consumer control. Dr. Shadid asserts that his sole ambition has been "to make adequate medical care available to all the people regardless of their economic status," and also "to place the physician in a more dignified position and make his chief function the prevention of disease and its treatment a secondary consideration." Cooperative medicine thus will guarantee individual freedom through group and local community action. The alternative seems to be state medicine, such as was operative during the recent war for 11,000,000 members of the armed forces. E.S.B.

THE POLICE AND MINORITY GROUPS. BY JOSEPH D. LOHMAN. Chicago Park District Publishers, 1947, pp. xiii+133.

This valuable brochure on race relations represents one of the pioneer ventures in the in-service training of police officers. Principal points surveyed in the document include (1) the dimensions of the problem as a world, national, and metropolitan difficulty; (2) the historical backgrounds and conditions of racial, nationality, religious, and cultural tensions; (3) an analysis of the scientifically verified facts about race and minority groups; (4) a description of the racial situations generating minority tensions; (5) the role of the police officer in treating tension situations; and (6) the content of the law as it affects race relations. For the most part the factual material is adequate, the ecological maps depict with clarity the major areas of race tension in Chicago, and the methods suggested for handling minority groups are both practical and democratic.

E.C.MCD.

THE AMERICAN FARMER: HIS PROBLEMS AND HIS PROSPECTS. BY JAMES G. PATTON. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1947, pp. xii+172.

Here is a book about farmers, especially small farmers, how they live and how they would like to live. It is about working farmers, their struggles, their houses, their health and income, and their future. What happens to farmers is important. A living yardstick or standard of living is presented, and the bedrock problems of land, debt, and tenure are discussed. The poor use of labor and capital resources handicaps efficiency. The lot of farm women, the health problems of the family, the houses they live in, and the conditions of the farm community are further problems of American farmers that require attention. But the author believes that deep in the hearts of the people there is an abiding faith that the problems of farmers can be solved, and he maps out a charter for the reconstruction of rural life in the United States.

M.H.N.

THE COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN BRITAIN. Revised Edition. By E. TOPHAM and J. A. HOUGH. London: Longmans, Green and Company, 1946, pp. 52.

In the Foreword, the Hon. A. V. Alexander, Minister of Defense of Great Britain, points out that the Cooperative Movement "is organized from the bottom and not from the top." It "makes neither paupers nor millionaires." It aims to raise "the standards of the people in all directions, not only economically."

The document gives an excellent survey of the Cooperative Movement in Britain and deals with such subjects as Rochdale's peaceful revolution, control by the home, economic democracy in action, a people's bank, a world-wide movement, the fight for democracy. The Cooperative Movement is changing its humblest members into small property owners with an intense interest in democratic industry.

COOPERATION'S PROPHET. The Life and Letters of Dr. William King of Brighton, with a Reprint of *The Cooperator*, 1828-1830. BY T. C. MERCER. Manchester, England: Cooperative Union, Ltd., 1947, pp. 190.

The author has made a painstaking study of the contributions of Dr. William King to the cooperative movement, which began about fifteen years before the opening of the first well-known cooperative store in Rochdale, England. Dr. King was one of the first of the physicians who, in the regular course of their practice, have been so impressed by the welfare needs of their clientele that they have given themselves wholeheartedly to the cooperative way of life as the best means whereby people generally can help themselves not only economically but in many other important ways also. The reprint of Dr. King's *Cooperator* is an important addition to cooperative literature.

THE PEOPLE'S YEAR BOOK, 1947, INTERNATIONAL EDITION. Manchester, England: Cooperative Wholesale Society, 1947, pp. 176.

Of the successive volumes of *The People's Year Book*, this is one of the most valuable, for it reviews the progress of cooperative societies, first in the British Empire and then in various "foreign lands," such as the United States, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Belgium, Holland, Germany, Italy, Poland, USSR, China, and half a dozen other countries. Although the statements are brief and some are incomplete, they comprise the first composite picture of what happened in the first year and a half after the ending of the hostilities of World War II. On the whole, they reveal a remarkable comeback of the cooperatives, even in the countries

which were under destructive Nazi domination for several years. The explanation is found in the fact that, while cooperative structures may be put out of commission, the cooperative spirit lives on. In all the countries under review, however, the need for education is evident and urgent. Even though the annual turnover for 1946 of the Bank of the Cooperative Wholesale Society reached nearly \$5,000,000,000, yet it may be concluded that the larger a cooperative society, the greater the need for education and the more difficult the process of keeping up democratic morale, which, after all, is the essence of the cooperative movement.

In England the cooperatives are beginning to assert their independence of the present Labor Government. For example, in the paper by Jack Bailey, secretary of the Cooperative Party, the following questions are pointedly asked: Are all voluntary expressions of the democratic spirit to be frowned upon in the supposed interests of economic efficiency? In any case, are economic standards and measurements alone to decide what policies and institutions are significant to the new order we are committed to build?

E.S.B.

MEDICAL SERVICES BY GOVERNMENT. BY BERNARD J. STERN. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1946, pp. xvii+208.

This monograph is intended especially to discover what medical services are now provided on the different governmental levels—local, state, federal. Public medical care was originally a form of relief for the destitute and was based on the Elizabethan poor laws. It was administered locally, and naturally led to the multiplication of governmental jurisdictions with increasing wastefulness. Opinions still differ on whether medical care should be included under health departments or continued under relief departments. Some care is provided by school authorities, but the service is usually superficial and very little remedial therapy is actually provided.

State governments have entered the field of medical care. Local communities may receive state aid, and in several states and territories state services are provided directly. Most hospitals for tuberculous and mental patients are state institutions.

In 1933 federal grants-in-aid were instituted and services provided for approximately 20,000,000 persons. The program, however, was considered only a temporary measure, and local or state governments were expected eventually to take over the services. Certain federal grants have been continued, notably for venereal disease and tuberculosis control. Aid

has also been given for vocational rehabilitation, infancy and maternity services, and care for crippled children. Certain medical services are performed directly by the federal government. The marine hospitals, the institutions for drug addicts, and the veterans' hospitals are examples. Various departments such as the military organizations, the Tennessee Valley Authority, the Farm Security Administration, and the Federal Housing Authority have provided medical care.

A rather complete picture of public medical service is presented by the author. It is a noteworthy fact that such service is rapidly expanding.

G.B.M.

AS YOU SOW. BY WALTER GOLDSCHMIDT. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947, pp. x+288.

A detailed study of three California communities is presented, showing the transition of the earlier type of farming to modern industrialized agriculture. From industrialized sowing of the soil is reaped an urbanized rural society. Industrialized agriculture is characterized by intensive production, large-scale investment, impersonal hiring and firing, and complete commercialization. Special attention is given to such matters as the basic structure, social status, religious life, conflict and control, variations in social pattern, and the effects of urban culture in rural areas. California is especially noted for its industrialization of agriculture on large-scale landholdings. This has affected community life in all of its aspects. While the book gives a vivid picture of a California community as affected by industrialization, its implications are nation wide.

M.H.N.

MEDICAL CARE AND COSTS IN RELATION TO FAMILY INCOME. Bureau Memorandum No. 51, Federal Security Agency. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947, pp. 349.

The information contained in this report is taken from various studies. The scope and method of these studies are briefly set forth and data from them are incorporated in the various tables and statistical presentations.

The report is composed almost entirely of tabular material, arranged as follows: Economic Characteristics of the Population, Measurements of Medical Care Needs, Medical Care Expenditures, Health Personnel, Health Facilities, Voluntary Hospital and Medical Care, State Summaries.

A wealth of information is contained in these tables. Almost every conceivable relationship of population groups to disease and to care for illnesses is given. Definite statistics showing the handicaps among the low income groups in obtaining dental, medical, or hospital care are enlightening. Facts relating to physicians, dentists, nurses, and hospitals are helpful for planning future programs. The report is full of material that can be used to establish better systems of medical care and services. G.B.M.

AND YOUR NEIGHBOR. *The Social Principles of Jesus and Life Problems.* New York: Association Press, 1947, pp. 85.

In this handy study-book for youth a well-known sociologist not only simplifies and brings up to date some of the ideas advanced a few years ago by Walter Rauschenbusch but also introduces viewpoints of his own. In twenty-five lessons, many social problems are pointedly introduced, chiefly through questions and problems for discussion. The author uses considerable ingenuity and much thought in developing this guide for youthful thinking.

RACES AND CULTURE

THE PUEBLO INDIANS OF SAN ILDEFONSO. By WILLIAM WHITMAN. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947, pp. vii+164.

This is a study of the Tewa Pueblo of San Ildefonso, New Mexico. It is based on the personal observations of the author and his wife, who lived in the pueblo three different times between 1936 and 1939. It presents a brief history of the pueblo and a detailed description of the social, political, economic, religious, and recreational life and institutions of the people. In fact, it considers practically all the social and cultural aspects of pueblo life. In it one finds enlightening examples of culture diffusion, acculturation, or cultural change. Much of what once was Spanish-American, says the author, "is now accepted by the Indians themselves as basically Indian." From the standpoint of raciocultural relations, it is of particular interest to read that "The Indians do not work for the Spanish-Americans," but "many San Ildefonso women employ Spanish-American women to wash, sweep, and clean for them." Comparisons and contrasts are made between the social and cultural values of the Indian and those of the white man. The magical and religious beliefs and practices of the natives are of further interest.

The relatively rapid changes that have taken place in recent years,

particularly in the economic activities of the people, may be regarded as revolutionary. No longer is agriculture the focal point of economic, social, and religious endeavor; it has been replaced by pottery making. And this in turn has changed the status of women, the pottery makers, placing them in a commanding economic position.

LOUIS PETROFF

Southern Illinois University

APES, GIANTS, AND MAN. BY FRANZ WEIDENREICH. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946, pp. 122.

Franz Weidenreich, research associate of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, has presented in book form a series of lectures delivered in 1945 under the Hitchcock Endowment Fund of the University of California.

The work is a concise outline of the physical evolution of man, in the light of recent scientific theory. A great part of the material for the book was gathered in China. In addition, recent fossil discoveries in Java have been taken into account in formulating anthropological conclusions. Upon the basis of his research, and after considering several theories of evolution, Dr. Weidenreich is of the opinion that the human form has evolved from a race of giants. The steps leading up to this conclusion make very interesting reading.

Written in clear style, the book is such as to hold a fascination for the layman. But it should also be of great value to all those engaged in anthropology, giving as it does the results of the most recent scientific discoveries in this field. A large number of illustrations, diagrams, and maps are incorporated into the work, and an adequate bibliography is appended.

THE SPOILAGE. BY DOROTHY S. THOMAS and RICHARD NISHIMOTO. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946, pp. xv+388.

In this volume on the Japanese immigrants and Japanese Americans who as a result of the evacuation and relocation projects became "disloyal," the authors present a part of a much larger study. A later volume on *The Salvage* and a number of monographs are yet to appear. The materials in *The Spoilage* are to be viewed in the light of the complete account which will be available within the next year. The authors have given a meticulously careful record, based on day-by-day reports obtained firsthand from three of the relocation centers, namely, Tule Lake, Poston, and Minidoka, but chiefly from Tule Lake, where the registration of the

residents early in 1943 was "badly bungled" and where the "disloyal" were later concentrated.

The concluding paragraph of the book sums up the whole study in striking terms. The main conclusions may be put as follows: (1) Charged with no offense, but victims of a military misconception, these young people had suffered confinement behind barbed wire. (2) Their parents had lost their foothold in the economic structure of the United States. (3) They themselves had been deprived of rights which indoctrination in American schools had led them to believe inviolable. (4) They had been stigmatized as disloyal on grounds often far removed from any criterion of political allegiance. (5) They had yielded to parental compulsion in order to hold the family intact. (6) They had been intimidated by the ruthless tactics of pressure groups in the centers. (7) They had been terrified by reports of the continuing hostility of the Caucasian public. (8) When several thousand of them finally renounced their irreparably depreciated American citizenship, the cycle which began with evacuation was complete. Many have gone to Japan, but others remain here with uncertain status.

The authors have done well in presenting a wealth of details, in maintaining perspective, and in keeping clear sense of balance among the many and conflicting factors. Perhaps more attention might have been given to background factors, such as the training received in Japan by the Kibei before they returned to the United States, and the anti-Japanese propagandist role played by certain pressure groups on the West Coast before and during the War.

E.S.B.

INDIA CAN LEAD. BY KEWAL MOTWANI. Bombay, India: Phoenix Publications, 1946, pp. 91.

In essence, Dr. Motwani's book is an argument for the establishment of an Indian Academy of Social Sciences. The book begins with a brief outline of India's position in a troubled world. The author points out that India is joining the ranks of free nations and that within her borders are strong forces of disruption and disorder. The situation in India resolves itself into two parts: "the reconditioning of the human personality and building up a new dynamic social order." In order to accomplish these two tasks, Dr. Motwani stresses the need for the development of the social sciences within India. He points out that these studies should not be patterned directly after similar studies in the Western nations, but should be developed in relation with India's own culture patterns. The author brings out the need for governmental leaders who are trained in

the social sciences and for more university courses directed toward that end. In order to achieve these aims, Dr. Motwani urges the establishment of an Indian Academy of Social Sciences.

The book is rather nationalistic in approach. It is difficult for a person in this country, for example, to believe that the world "looks up to India for guidance in the matter of adjustment to science and machine." In spite of the nationalism, or perhaps because of it, the book gives an interesting insight on the academic needs of modern India.

JAMES S. ROBERTS

AN INTRODUCTION TO PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY. By M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU. Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1945, pp. xiv+325.

In this splendidly written and published book, the author presents a clear and broad view of physical anthropology. He dovetails physical anthropology closely into cultural anthropology, which he explains as the study of man as "a cultural being in all the varieties which his cultures take." He places physical anthropology "at the base of all studies relating to man," and defines it as a comparative science of man and as a study of the physical organism in relation to its total environment, social as well as physical.

The author asserts that Darwin's conclusion that mankind originated from an early anthropoid ape has been so fully substantiated that it may be accepted as one "of the most completely documented inferences in the whole range of biological sciences." He points out that the existing great apes present all the varieties, and more, of skin color found among the living groups of *Homo sapiens*. For instance, some chimpanzees are white skinned, others are black skinned, and others are brown or tan skinned. It is unnecessary, therefore, to postulate mutation in order to account for the different skin colors of man, for these colors may be "only the effect of the operation of selective factors upon already existing traits." Inheritance is through the genes, and "blood has nothing whatever to do with heredity." The differences that exist between people have "absolutely no connection with blood"; "all people are of one blood." The differences between individuals are to "a far larger extent determined by cultural factors than by the total number of biological factors which operate from within the individual." Five interacting and interdependent factors account for the development of a personality, namely, a genetic system, a system of developmental relationships determined by the uterine environment, family environment, general socioeconomic environment, and general physical environment.

In this work special attention is given to the criteria and mechanisms of ethnic group differentiation and to a system of ethnic classification. An ethnic group is defined as a subdivision of one of the larger divisions of man, which is distinguished from other such subdivisions "by the possession of one or more morphological or measurable characters." The strength of the book may be found in its breadth of view, its recognition of the interrelation between cultural and physical factors, and its carefully drawn classifications.

E.S.B.

SANTA EULALIA, The Religion of a Cuchumatán Indian Town. BY OLIVER LA FARGE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947, pp. xvii+211.

This book deals with the culture of the Indians of the Cuchumatán area, particularly with that of the village of Santa Eulalia, Guatemala. It is based on direct observation made by the author prior to 1932, "when no road reached into that guarded, beautiful, forgotten country." In its first part are presented the geographical setting, the various tribes and languages, the history of the natives, and the social, political, and economic culture of the people in the area. Although the village of Santa Eulalia was the center of investigation, the author touches directly and indirectly upon the surrounding Indian communities. The culture of these Indians is of particular interest, for in it are found survivals of the old Mayan culture.

As the title indicates, the main emphasis is upon the present-day religion of the natives, which is a peculiar fusion of old Mayan and Christian beliefs and practices. "The form and some of the content of Christianity have been grafted upon a fundamentally Indian religious philosophy, and a vast body of survivals has been brought under the sanctions of the Christian god." In the chapter "Christian-derived Deities" one reads, "On the whole, the Trinity here is reduced to a duality, the concept of the Holy Ghost being almost entirely lost . . . Christ emerges clearly as a culture hero and secondary creator. It does not appear that He actually made the world; a world seems to have existed before Him, but He 'formed it.' He made it larger and apparently created people, originally to take part in the Great Dance."

Many passages like the one above make the book of extreme interest to the student of culture diffusion or acculturation. Though parts of it are somewhat technical or detailed, the book might prove of interest to the layman as well as to the anthropologist, ethnologist, or sociologist.

LOUIS PETROFF

Southern Illinois University

POSTWAR PROBLEMS OF MIGRATION. Papers Presented at the Round Table on Population Problems. New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1947, pp. 173.

This group of eleven papers by scholars such as Warren S. Thompson, Maurice R. Davie, Conrad and Irene Taeuber, Ira De. A. Reid, and Kingsley Davis is miscellaneous in character but exceedingly timely. They deal with both universal and regional population problems. They point out that "the potential migration pent up in today's world is enormous," that population is increasing at extremely unequal rates in various parts of the world, and that a strong world government might "remedy the unbalance of population as between the continents."

The defense of a country like Australia calls for a vast increase of population, and the Argentinian director of migration is reported to be considering a plan to increase Argentina's population to one hundred million within the next fifty years.

The refugee problem is discussed and a refugee is defined as "one who leaves his country of residence because of the threat to life or liberty growing out of race, religion, or political belief." He is an "involuntary immigrant." Refugees who have been admitted to the United States have found employment for the most part in their former occupational fields but "generally on a lower economic level." The older refugees have had the most trouble in becoming adjusted.

There has been a tremendous amount of intermigration in the United States in the last few years. For example, in 1946 a total of 19,500,000 individuals were living in a different county in the United States from the one they were residing in only six years earlier. An integration and further sociological interpretation are needed of the valuable factual materials in this conference report.

E.S.B.

THE REDUCTION OF INTERGROUP TENSIONS. BY ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947, pp. xi+152.

Dr. Williams of Cornell University presents a valuable survey of research on problems of ethnic, racial, and religious group relations. He carefully investigates and evaluates the techniques used by action agencies aimed at reducing hostility and resolving conflict in intercultural situations. More than one hundred propositions or hypotheses on the nature of intergroup hostility and conflict are listed. In addition, more than forty possibilities for research in the field of intergroup tensions are suggested. The section dealing with research techniques on attitude scales might have been more thorough. A bibliography of 223 entries completes the work. For all students of the intercultural education movement this monograph is a necessity.

E.C.M.

PUERTO RICAN EMIGRATION. BY CLARENCE SENIOR. Foreword by JAIME BENITEZ. Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico: Social Science Research Center, University of Puerto Rico, (mimeographed) 1947, pp. v+166.

Were Thomas Malthus alive today he would probably smile with grim satisfaction at the way the population of Puerto Rico seems to verify his doleful predictions. And the righteous parson would by now undoubtedly approve Dr. Senior's recommendations for solving the problem of surplus population in this too-populous isle.

The fore part of the study surveys the population composition and natural resources of the island; the "man-land" ratio for Puerto Rico is thereby derived. Then, on the basis of a questionnaire submitted to Puerto Rican migrants to the United States, Dr. Senior offers an evaluation of the effects of migration in terms of the experiences and attitudes of those who returned to the island and those who remained in the United States.

The probabilities of solving the island's population problems by emigration are estimated in the light of three considerations: the failure of previous experiments, the nature of the opportunities offered in the United States and certain of the South American countries, and the merits or demerits of other solutions. Dr. Senior concludes that if certain colonization principles and practices are followed and if birth control and other broad measures are taken within the island, the problem of overpopulation can be overcome.

To implement his findings Dr. Senior has appended a list of recommendations and principles for successful colonization. As a result, this book will prove useful to both sociologists and social reformers interested in population problems.

MELVIN NADELL

ECONOMICS OF MIGRATION. BY JULIUS ISAAC. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947, pp. xii+285.

In this analysis of international migrations, the author gives the historical background of migration movements and then plunges into such heavy problems as the factors determining volume and direction of migration, migration as a means of adjusting a disharmonious distribution of populations, the control of migration, and the economic and international effects of migration. Migration is regarded "as a test case in international relations," by A. M. Carr-Saunders in his "Introduction."

Migration is treated to a large extent in the light of population situations, such as optimum population, population-carrying capacity, differentials of assimilation. It is also pointed up largely in terms of effects of migration on wage rates, on standards of living, on demand for goods,

on unemployment, on structural adjustment through internal migration, on the capital value of migrants.

The author recognizes the weaknesses of free migration according to the desires of individuals, of the present procedures whereby each nation makes its own migration rules regardless of the needs or attitudes of other nations, of the treaty-arrangement method effected by one nation with another nation. He believes that the world is approaching an age of international planning of migration. But such an age would doubtless involve some kind of an effective world government. As indicated by the title, the author does not take up the major social implications of international migration. He sticks to his last and thereby does a splendid specialized piece of work.

E.S.B.

SOCIAL FICTION

VESPERS IN VIENNA. BY BRUCE MARSHALL. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1947, pp. 279.

Those who remember with delight the sly, sometimes biting humor, the keen-edged satirical comedy, and the roguish charm of both *Father Malachy's Miracle* and *The World, the Flesh, and Father Smith* are in for more of the same in *Vespers in Vienna*. Two serious notes are struck along with all this, one a running debate on the ineffective use of Christianity in preventing the catastrophe of war, the other a love story with a tragic ending.

Billeted in an old Vienna convent, housing the Daughters of the Holy Ghost, is a company of British occupation troops led by Colonel Nicobar. Presiding over the nuns is the wise, determined, and rotund Reverend Mother Auxilia, whose selective powers of observation on the emptiness of worldly ways are expressed in gems of subtility. Among Nicobar's personnel are Sergeant Moonlight, a solid Cockney whose spicy reading matter makes for a less dull life in the convent, Major Twingo, whose intelligence can be turned on or off at will, and Senior Subaltern Audrey Quail, whose sophisticated charm makes her an ambassadress in her own right. The British officers find that their worldly ways are matched by the holy and simple spirituality of the Sisters. Mother Auxilia tells them that "the great disservice your nineteenth century materialists did to the world" was "to make it more difficult to obey the Lord." In turn, Nicobar

reports to her that, first of all, the "representatives of official Christianity have got to prove to them that the Church of Christ stands for social justice, honesty, kindness to the weak, and that its interpretation of the word 'sin' is not, as the common man honestly believes it is, solely in terms of alcohol and sex."

Despite the debates, all goes well in the convent until the Russian Colonel Piniev arrives to ascertain the whereabouts of the beautiful Volksdeutsch dancer Maria Buhlen. The Russians search the convent but depart without her. Later, they inform Nicobar that the number of nuns has been increased by one, and Nicobar is forced to yield her to the Russians. This gives the novelist his chance to tell the tragic love story between Major Twingo and Maria and also to reflect a bit of Russian thinking. Colonel Piniev dryly remarks: "Shall I be saying that we in Russia knew that you were not hating us because we were the enemies of your Christ, but because you were thinking that we were the enemies of the accumulation of wealth and fat business men driving about in big motor cars with beautiful womans? . . . with a little understanding on both our parts perhaps we might learn to work for the peace of the world which I should like you to believe that my country is desiring as earnestly as yours."

Marshall is persuasive in his arguments on the futility of war and sincere in his efforts to show the difficulties in answering the question relative to the Church and its stand on war. Mother Auxilia announces ". . . if everybody in the whole world prayed sincerely about the right things, there would certainly be no more wars." This is the answer at least in part, but there are difficulties in defining the right things as this splendid and moving piece of fiction demonstrates.

M.J.V.

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